



Late Ottoman Perspectives on the South African War (1899-1902): the Work of

Ismail Kemal Vlora

by

Esma KARADAĞ

SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

In fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

Masters of Arts

in

Historical Studies

Faculty of Humanities

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

2018

Supervisor: Associate Professor Shamil Jeppie

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank first and foremost to the Ministry of National Education of Turkey (MEB) who have given me the opportunity of an education from one of the best institutions in the world.

It is with immense gratitude that I acknowledge the support and help of my supervisor Professor Shamil Jeppie. I consider it an honour to work with him.

I would like to show my sincere gratitude to Nathalie Clayer who advised me to write a thesis on Ismail Kemal Vlora.

I am indebted to Emine Kaval in editing the work of Ismail Kemal, which I transliterated many years ago, with her deep knowledge in Ottoman Turkish.

I cannot find words to express my gratitude to M. Ali Bekko who supported me and my family from the day we arrive Cape Town. He will always have a special place in my life.

My family have always stood by me and dealt with all of my absence from many family occasions with a smile. They bore the distance.

Finally, this thesis would not have been possible without the support of my beloved husband, Murat. I am extremely thankful for the tireless devotion and encouragement of him through my Masters journey.

ABSTRACT

The South African War of 1899–1902 or Anglo-Boer War was one of the modern examples of propaganda in history. It revealed an enormous agitprop conducted by British and Boer forces. The European and American public closely followed the struggle between the mighty British Empire and the “little white Christians”.

This thesis examines the pro-British propaganda of the Ottoman intellectuals and policy-makers by focusing on the work of Ismail Kemal Vlora, *Transval Meselesi*. Ismail Kemal Bey’s pamphlet on the war is a crucial propagandist instrument and legitimiser of British imperialism in South Africa and in other British colonies.

This work aims to grasp the understanding of imperialism and civilisation by the pro-British Ottoman intelligentsia, by looking at their attitude towards the South African War of 1899-1902. In this sense, it aims to make a contribution to Ottoman and South African history.

DEDICATION

To my beloved sons Taha and Furkan

GLOSSARY

Ahrar Fırkası: Liberal political party in the Ottoman Empire. The party was founded by the liberal Young Turks in 1908 and ended in 1910.

Alim: Scholar, the person who holds a degree in Islamic sciences.

Anglophilia: A person who admires England, English ways and English things.

Bab-ı Ali: The Sublime Porte, the Ottoman court.

Bey: Amir, chief, provincial governor in the Ottoman Empire.

Committee of Union and Progress (CUP): The Young Turk organ founded in 1889.

Coup d'état: Sudden action in politics which aims at a change of government illegally.

Effendi: Master, a Turkish title of respect similar to “Sir”.

Eyalet: Province, an administrative district.

Ferman: An official decree or edict issued in the name of the Ottoman sultan.

Hareket Ordusu: The Action Army, the third army based in Thessaloniki. It was sent by the Unionists to suppress the 31 March incident.

Kanun-u Esasi: Basic Law, the first Ottoman constitution of 1876.

Kuloğlu: Its meaning is ‘the son of the servant’. The term was used to describe mixed-race offspring of Turkish men and local North African women during the Ottoman period.

Meclis-i Mebusan: Chamber of deputies in the government of the Ottoman Empire.

Pasha: A title held by high officials.

Sadrızam: Grand Vizier, the chief officer.

Sultan: King, leader

Young Turks (Jön Türkler): A group of people who aimed to replace administration through the absolute rule of the Sultan with a constitutional government, in the Ottoman Empire in the early 20th century.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the standpoint of the pro-British faction of Young Turks towards the South African War (the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902) in the light of the work of Ismail Kemal of Vlora, *Transval Meselesi*. The South African War, fought between Great Britain and the two Afrikaner States (*Die Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* or South African Republic and the *Oranjevrijstaat* or Orange Free State), ended in British victory. The war created a great international stir and led to huge propaganda campaigns by both sides. Criticism of the war went beyond Europe and South Africa.

The war in South Africa, while geographically far from the Ottoman Empire, made an immense impact upon Ottoman intellectual and political circles. The Ottoman press discussed it broadly. One of the longest texts written on the South African War was the work of Ismail Kemal: his *Transval Meselesi* (1900). Ismail Kemal's work was translated from Ottoman Turkish into three languages: English (*The Transvaal Question from the Mussulman Point of View*, 1901); French (*La Question du Transvaal ou le Role Civilisateur de l'Angleterre Juge au Point de vue Musulman*, 1901); and Arabic: (*Mas'ala al-Transfal*, 1901). What is more, the Ottoman sultan, Abdülhamid II, sent a military attaché, Major Aziz Bey, to monitor the war.

Transval Meselesi was a thoroughly pro-British and anti-Boer work. The pamphlet was published in 1900, when the world criticised the British Empire for the harsh war strategies it used against the Boers. Ismail Kemal endeavoured to justify the war, and thus British imperialism, in his writing. The work gives some important clues to his stance on colonialism, his perception of imperialism and his conception of civilisation. Internalising the colonialist attitudes of England, Ismail Kemal claimed that Great Britain desired to civilise Africans, as well as aspiring to promote Muslims under British domination, while the Boers were oppressing these people. As an Anglophile statesman, he advocated the support of Britain against the Boers.

Ismail Kemal was a prominent Ottoman-Albanian intellectual. He had served as governor in many Ottoman provinces and as a deputy in the Ottoman parliament. He was also a great Albanian nationalist who led the region's breakaway from the Ottoman Empire and one of the leaders who established an independent Albania. Despite his prominent position in the empire and his role in the foundation of Albania,

there has been no specific study in English of Ismail Kemal, nor of his work, *Transval Meselesi*. There is an article, *Avlonyalı İsmail Kemal Bey'in Siyasi Faaliyetleri: 1870–1908*, (*The Political Activities of Ismail Kemal Bey: 1870-1908*) by İhsan Burak Birecikli (2009) in Turkish. This article is a very detailed work on the political life of Ismail Kemal before the second constitutional monarchy of 1908. There is also some information about his relations with the Young Turks, his escape to Europe in 1900 and a *coup* attempt against the Ottoman sultan Abdülhamid II in 1903. Birecikli used Ottoman archival documents as well as a great many other primary and secondary sources.

There is also an unpublished Masters thesis entitled *The Emergence of Albanian National Identity and Three Figures: Semsettin Sami, Ismail Kemal, Fan S. Noli* by Endri Ziu (2012). Ziu's study aims to understand the emergence of Albanian national identity by concentrating on the intellectual activities of three Albanian intellectuals. The last chapter in particular, analyzes the struggle of Ismail Kemal in the Albanian cause. There are also plenty of secondary sources on Albanian nationalism that elaborate the political and intellectual activities of Ismail Kemal. Ziu's thesis is, therefore, a modest contribution to the study of Ismail Kemal Bey of Vlora.

Chapter One of this thesis examines Ottoman interests and activities on the African continent, with a special focus on South Africa. The Ottoman interests in Africa started in 1517 with the occupation of Egypt and the subsequent domination of North Africa. In relation to this, establishing good relations with the Muslim states of the continent is examined briefly. The focus of this chapter is on the religious activities of Ottoman scholars in the Cape Colony, characterized by the relocation of Abu Bakr Effendi to Cape Town in 1863. In addition, the pan-Islamic propaganda conducted by Abdülhamid II is discussed. Ahmet Uçar's book, *140 Yıllık Miras Güney Afrika'da Osmanlılar* (*The Ottomans in South Africa* (2001) and studies by Ahmet Kavas of Ottomans in Africa are important sources for this chapter. The unpublished MA thesis of Selim Argun: *The Life and Contribution of the Osmanlı Scholar, Abu Bakr Effendi, Towards Islamic Thought and Culture in South Africa* (2000); and that of Serhat Orakçı: *A Historical Analysis of the Emerging Links between the Ottoman Empire and South Africa Between 1861–1923* (2007) have both been used frequently.

In order to understand the support of the British cause by Ismail Kemal, it is crucial to examine his background.

In Chapter Two, the political and intellectual activities of Ismail Kemal are evaluated, in terms of both the Ottoman Empire and the Albanian cause. He was a Young Turk who presented reform reports to the Ottoman sultans and opposed Abdülhamid II. Later, he became the opponent of the Committee of Union and Progress as well. The role of Ismail Kemal in the counter-revolution against the CUP, in 1908, is still debated by historians. He had close ties with Britain and sought the assistance of England for a *coup d'état* against Abdülhamid II as well as against the rule of the CUP. Ismail Kemal fled to Europe in 1900, after being appointed governor of Tripoli. Later, he started to strive for an independent Albania. In this chapter, *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey* (1920) are used widely as a primary source.

The Ottoman Empire had gone through many economic, social, administrative and military difficulties, beginning in the seventeenth century. The following centuries brought great transformations, among which the intellectual evolution ranked first in importance. The ideas of Ottoman intellectuals in a crumbling empire changed enormously. The pro-British intelligentsia was one of the biggest of these groups. Others were pro-French and pro-German.

Chapter Three, on the pro-British faction of the Young Turks, aims to fit Ismail Kemal into his intellectual context and understand the contemporary opinion of the Ottoman intellectuals about Britain. This group had similar naïve ideas to Ismail Kemal's, which amounted to an exalted admiration of British culture. This chapter discusses the admiration of the pro-British Ottoman intellectuals and how they and Ismail Kemal understood the concept of civilisation. The reasons for their pro-British inclination are evaluated within the historical context. Britain's response and her foreign policy towards Turkey are also discussed. Apart from some other secondary sources, this chapter extensively uses the works of Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Jön Türkler in DİA, Young Turks in Opposition* (2008), and *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük: 1889–1902 (The Committee of Union and Progress as a Political Organisation and Young Turkism: 1889–1902)* (1986) as secondary sources.

Undoubtedly, the war of 1899-1902 was a crucial milestone in the history of South Africa. As one might expect, the pro-British Young Turks produced many publications on the South African War. Chapter Four thus gives insight into the seeds of the struggle and the South African War itself. In addition, it focuses on the perspectives of the pro-British Ottoman intelligentsia on England and the British struggle in South Africa. The purpose here is to evaluate an aspect of Ottoman public opinion and the stances of the Ottoman policy makers towards the war. The Young Turk publications, such as *Servet-i Fünûn* (1891-1944) and the memoirs of contemporary Ottoman intellectuals, are crucial sources to consult, in order to have insight into their views of the war.

In order to comprehend the reasons for Ismail Kemal's positive view of England, the factors influencing him must be taken into consideration. It is possible to infer that his admiration of Great Britain was fed by its contemporary superpower status vis-a-vis Russia. Ismail Kemal expressed his fear of Russia in his works, such as the preface to *The Transvaal Question from the Mussulman Point of View* (1901), his memoirs (1920) and his reform proposal to the sultan (1897). Russia was seen as the biggest threat to the fate of Turkey from the seventeenth century until the end of the empire. Chapter Five examines the Russian threat against the Turks, with the historical process. The chapter also examines details of the history of Russian expansion over the Ottoman territories, especially focusing on Russia's pan-Slavic policy and her ambition to take over Istanbul and the Bosphorus straits. Ottoman public opinion is analyzed, as well as the positions of the Ottoman intelligentsia and policy makers towards Russia's actions harmful to the empire.

The core chapter of this thesis is an analysis of Ismail Kemal's text on the South African War, *Transval Meselesi*. It was published in Ottoman Turkish in 1900 and in 27 pages of English in 1901. Ismail Kemal's work is a great propaganda piece, written by a pro-British Ottoman intellectual, in order to justify British imperialism. The work deals with the British administration, particularly of South Africa, by analyzing the management of the Dutch East India Company there. There is an Islamic discourse throughout the pamphlet. Ismail Kemal advocated Muslims' support of Britain for their moral and political improvement. There are considerable clues to the

contemporary concept of imperialism, civilisation, and progress. For ease of comprehension, the pamphlet is divided into subjects.

This study aspires to investigate the framework of advocacy of Britain by the pro-British intelligentsia, in the light of Ismail Kemal's work. Ismail Kemal was the leader of the pro-British Ottoman statesmen and intelligentsia. In this respect, his work is part of the intellectual history of the period. Ismail Kemal's personal interest in the South African War, which made him write a study of the war, seems noteworthy. This thesis attempts to find answers to the questions of how and why a war in southern Africa massively affected an Ottoman intellectual and politician. It is also intended to fill the gap in the literature on the British bias of Ismail Kemal as a significant historical figure. As a pro-British Ottoman intellectual, Ismail Kemal's point of view about concepts like civilisation, progress, colonialism and imperialism are evaluated. In this way, the pro-British group he represented can be better comprehended.

CHAPTER 1.

“*Afrikâ-yi Osmânî*” The Ottomans in Africa

Introduction

The Ottoman presence in Africa began in 1517, especially through the creation of the *eyalet* or provinces in North Africa. Ottoman administrators established Ottoman systems of government in these newly conquered territories and the Ottoman language was used in the administration of these provinces. There was no mass migration of people from the heartlands of the empire but there was inter-marriage between officials and soldiers with locals. Later, in the nineteenth century, there were also small Turkish communities on the continent. On the whole, Ottoman relations with Muslims in Africa were substantial. The focus of this chapter is on the Ottomans in the southernmost tip of the continent. There, in the British-ruled Cape Colony, the religious activities of Ottoman scholars after 1863 were substantial. Finally, the chapter analyzes the politicization of Islam after 1878 and the use of the caliphate as an instrument of counter balance to British domination.

1. Ottoman activities on the African continent

After the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the Ottoman Empire started to spread with its growing fleet and army, with the idea of world domination.¹ This expansion spread to the south of the empire and the eastern Mediterranean. Subsequently, in the Mediterranean, the Ottoman Empire struggled with Spain and Portugal, to a certain extent, at the beginning of the sixteenth century.² Upon the threat to the Holy Cities (Mecca and Medina) by the Portuguese, the Ottoman Empire put an end to the Mamluk sultanate (1250-1517) centred in Cairo, Egypt and held the Holy Cities, from 1517 in order to protect the cities from Portuguese threat.

The first relations of the Ottoman Empire with Africa started with the conquest of Egypt.³ This conquest became one of the most crucial milestones for the Ottoman state.⁴ The Ottoman Sultan Selim I (reign 1512-1520) took the title of Caliph from the last Abbasid Caliph, Al-Mutawakkil. The Ottomans thereafter made good use of this ‘Caliph’ title as a religious and political right to rule over the Muslim world. The prestige of the Ottoman

¹ Salih Özbaran, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Hindistan Yolu: Onaltıncı Yüzyılda Ticaret Yolları Üzerinde Türk-Portekiz Rekabet ve İlişkileri,” *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no. 31 (1977): 82.

² Ahmet Kavas, “Afrika’da Sömürgeciliğin XIX. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısına Kadar Kurulamamasında Osmanlı Devleti’nin Rolü,” *Yükselen Afrika ve Türkiye / Rising Africa and Turkey I. Uluslararası Türk-Afrika Kongresi (23 November 2005)*, ed. by Ahmet Kavas and Hasan Öztürk (İstanbul: Tasam, 2006), 103.

³ Ahmet Kavas, *Osmanlı-Afrika İlişkileri* (İstanbul: Tasam Yayınları, 2006), 11, 12.

⁴ Özbaran, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Hindistan Yolu,” 82.

sultans increased immensely among the Sunni Muslims of the world after this. The idea of the caliphate based in Istanbul gave them political legitimization.

The Ottoman Empire established relations with the African continent in every sphere of life. From 1517 to 1578, the empire took hold of all northern Africa, from Egypt to the borders of what is today Morocco, but failed to gain the allegiance of the rulers of the various sultanates of the Maghrib (north-west Africa). Since it was very hard to administer the regions of Africa from Istanbul, the centre of the empire, some Turkish noble families founded the powerful *eyalet* (province) system in Africa with the support of a *sultanî ferman* (edict). Egypt in 1517, Trablusgarp (Libya and some parts of Niger and Chad) in 1551, Tunisia in 1574, and Cezayir-i Garb (Algeria) in 1535 *eyalets* were founded by the Ottoman Empire. Trablusgarp, Cezayir-i Garb and Tunisia *eyalets* were called ‘Garp Ocakları’. These *eyalets* were semi-independent and administered by noble Turkish dynasties. These were Karamanids in Trablusgarp (1711-1835), Hüseyinler in Tunisia (1705-1735 and 1756–1957), Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha and his successors (1805-1879) in Egypt. All had some privileges different from the other *eyalets*.⁵

2. Ottoman interests in eastern and southern Africa

The Ottoman presence in Africa was not limited to the north, but extended to the east and the south as well.⁶ The conquest of Egypt also opened the western coasts of the Red Sea. The empire accessed the Indian Ocean through the Red Sea and fought against the Portuguese to defend the African coasts.⁷ The cities occupied by Spain and Portugal in North Africa, the Red Sea and East Africa were taken. The Portuguese fleet was driven from the Red-Sea entirely.⁸ Port cities in North Africa, Egypt and the Red Sea fell under the sovereignty of the Ottomans. The Ottomans took the coasts of Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia and some parts of Ethiopia. *Habeş Eyaleti* is centred today on Suakin Island, Sudan, but was founded on the west coast of the Red Sea, in contemporary Somalia, Eritrea, Djibouti and the coasts of Sudan and Harar, Ethiopia.⁹ In 1555 this area was conquered by Özdemiş Pasha.

During the time of increasing European penetration of Africa, Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha or Muhammad Ali of Egypt (reign 1805-1848) campaigned into the hinterlands of

⁵ Muhammed Tandoğan, “Osmanlı Devleti’nin Afrika’da Avrupa Sömürgeciliğine Karşı Siyaseti (XIX. Yüzyıl ve XX. Yüzyılın Başları)” (Master’s diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2011), 7.

⁶ Ibid, 6.

⁷ Ibid, 5.

⁸ Arif Celal Özdemir, “II. Abdülhamid’in Afrika Siyaseti” (Master’s diss., Afyonkarahisar Üniversitesi, 2017), 19.

⁹ For a study on Ottomans in Suakin see, A. C. S. Peacock, “Suakin: A Northeast African Port in the Ottoman Empire,” *Northeast African Studies* 12, no. 1 (2012): 29-50.

Africa in the 1820s.¹⁰ Mehmed Ali Pasha sent missions -often led by European explorers- into the southern parts of the Sudan.¹¹ Sudan was held by the Ottoman rule from Egypt for over sixty years. The rulers in the Sudan during this period were usually referred to as Turks by the Sudanese and by Europeans in the Sudan.¹² *Hatt-ı İstiva Vilayeti* was established in 1876, via the Khedivate of Egypt in Equatoria (present-day Southern Sudan, along the White Nile and northern Uganda). This province was the most south-eastern land of the empire's physical contact in East Africa, but was lost in 1889 and had little real impact on the Ottoman presence in Africa.¹³

On paper, or in theory, the Ottoman Empire had claims over the territories of thirteen modern states, from Morocco to Somalia.¹⁴ The Empire held the northern and eastern coasts of Africa, with soldiers brought from Anatolia, the Balkans and the Caucasus.¹⁵ This policy was quite different from those of the European imperial states. The European powers mobilized the native people by force and drove them to the hinterlands of the continent for their imperialistic ambitions. The indigenous people of Africa also fought for their masters in the World Wars, when Europeans battled against each other.¹⁶ Ottoman Turkish men, soldiers and sailors in Trablusgarp, Tunisia and Algeria married native Arab and Berber women, and their children were called *kuloğlu* like *mestiços* who were the descendants of intermarriages of Portuguese with locals. These children held important positions in the history of North Africa and were well educated with some privileges. In the middle of the nineteenth century, there were about 50 000 *kuloğlu*.¹⁷

The Ottoman Empire also contributed to the material culture of Africa, constructing many monuments on the continent. Several mosques, madrasahs (Muslim theological schools), *hamams* (public baths), and bridges still exist in Libya and Tunisia, but were demolished in Algeria during the French occupation, beginning in 1830.¹⁸ Another form of Ottoman support was a surgery opened in Khartoum, Sudan by a doctor of Prussian descent, Mehmed Emin Pasha (Eduard Schnitzer) (1840-1892).¹⁹ Khartoum was

¹⁰ Kavas, *Osmanlı-Afrika İlişkileri*, 12- 13.

¹¹ Ahmet Kavas, "Afrika'da Türklerin Hakimiyeti ve Kurdukları Devletler," in *Türkler*, vol. 9 (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002), 1058.

¹² Richard Hill, *Egypt in the Sudan: 1820-1881* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 1.

¹³ Hatice Babavatan, "Understanding 'Afrikâ-yi 'Osmânî' in the Late Ottoman Period: the Case of Zanzibar" (Master's diss., Boğaziçi University, 2003), 42.

¹⁴ Kavas, "Afrika'da Türklerin Hakimiyeti ve Kurdukları Devletler," 1064.

¹⁵ Kavas, "Afrika'da Sömürgeciliğin XIX. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısına Kadar Kurulamamasında Osmanlı Devleti'nin Rolü," 106.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ahmet Kavas, "Kuloğlu," in *DİA*, vol. 26 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2001), 360.

¹⁸ Kavas, "Afrika'da Türklerin Hakimiyeti ve Kurdukları Devletler," 1067.

¹⁹ H. Ahmed Schmiede, "Emin Paşa," in *DİA*, vol. 11 (1995), 118.

established by Osman Bey Jarkas al-Birinji, a Circassian Mamluk, in 1825 during the Turco-Egyptian administration of Sudan.²⁰

3. Ottoman relations with the Muslim states in sub-Saharan Africa

The Ottoman Empire established good relationships with the Muslim states in sub-Saharan Africa.²¹ Securing good relations with the states and tribes in Africa became possible with the establishment of Ottoman sovereignty in Algeria, Tunisia and Libya.²² Funj²³, Darfur, Kordofan and Sennar sultans settled between present-day Sudan and Chad; the Emirate of Harar in Sudan and the Horn of Africa (Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, Ethiopia); Kano sultanate and the Hausa states between the present south of Niger and north of Nigeria and the Zanzibar sultanate in the coasts of Kenya, Tanzania and Mozambique all had close relations with the Ottoman Empire. Nearly all Muslims on the African continent were either under Ottoman sovereignty or accepted the Ottoman Sultan as their Caliph.²⁴ At that time, nearly half of the African continent was Muslim and they preserved their relationships with the Ottoman Empire. They appealed to the Ottomans when any threat of occupation by European powers arose, or any unrest broke out in their own territories.²⁵ For instance the city of Mombasa, in present-day Kenya, was taken from Portugal by the Ottomans at the end of the sixteenth century. The Empire prevented an attack by the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia and the Portuguese against the Emirate of Harar. The Ottomans also sent rifles to the Emirate of Harar to protect itself against any threat, as well as trainers to educate people in using these guns.²⁶

Abdülhamid II (reign 1876-1909) sent Muhammad Başala to Morocco and Bornu (Chad) on some secret missions. Muhammad Başala was a prominent public figure in Tripoli and had full knowledge of the area and of the nature of the population. He provided information about the power and glory of the Ottoman Caliph to each major African group. Accordingly, Muslims had great reverence for the Caliph everywhere Başala travelled in Africa. For instance, a group of Africans told him that they had killed a group of French officials, who did not have a sultan's *ferman* allowing them to travel in what the tribe considered to be the sultan's dominions. Muhammad Başala proposed that

²⁰ Hill, *Egypt in the Sudan: 1820-1881*, 19.

²¹ Özdemir, "II. Abdülhamid'in Afrika Siyaseti," 19.

²² Numan Hazar, *Küreselleşme Sürecinde Afrika ve Türkiye-Afrika İlişkileri* (Ankara: Karınca Yayınları, 2011), 116.

²³ For an analysis of the relations of the Funj sultanate and the Ottoman Empire, see A.C.S. Peacock, "The Ottomans and the Funj sultanate in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, vol. 75, no. 1 (2012), 87-111.

²⁴ Özdemir, "II. Abdülhamid'in Afrika Siyaseti," 20.

²⁵ Kavas, "Afrika'da Sömürgeciliğin XIX. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısına Kadar Kurulamamasında Osmanlı Devleti'nin Rolü," 108.

²⁶ Kavas, "Afrika'da Türklerin Hakimiyeti ve Kurdukları Devletler," 1068.

special missions should be sent to Muslims to advise and guide the local rulers, in order to incorporate these lands into the imperial domains.²⁷

Besides this, the Ottoman Empire had observer status at the Congo Conference or Berlin Conference held in Berlin in 1884–1885, which fifteen republics, empires, duchies, and kingdoms attended.²⁸ This further demonstrates that the Empire had a voice about Africa among the European states that were establishing colonies in Africa at the time.²⁹ The noteworthy study of Mostafa Minawi, *The Ottoman Scramble for Africa: Empire and Diplomacy in the Sahara and the Hijaz* (2016) confirms the Ottoman interest and power in the eastern Sahara, the Lake Chad basin and western Arabia even in the 1880s and 1890, despite the fact that the Empire was regarded as ‘the sick man of Europe’ at that time³⁰.

Furthermore, the Empire sent the religious scholar Abu-Bakr Effendi to South Africa in 1863, in order to resolve the problems in Muslim communities there, which is discussed later.

Although the Act of Berlin of 1885 was an instrument to justify European expansionism, the relations of the Muslim states in Africa with the Ottomans continued until the beginning of the twentieth century.³¹ For instance, Muslims in Mauritius and Madagascar sent funds to Ankara, the capital of modern Turkey, in the first years of the Turkish Republic, founded in 1923.³²

4. Ottoman relations with South African Muslims

Geographical distance prevented contact with South Africa for the Ottomans. Ottoman flat-bottomed ships were built for the Mediterranean and were not durable enough for the ocean voyages, while the Ottoman’s naval adversary Portugal had tall ships. The Portuguese fleet was technologically superior and the Ottoman navy could not deter them in the Indian Ocean. Since the Empire never held the southern parts of the continent, Ottoman relations with South African Muslims under British rule were indirect. The

²⁷ Selim Deringil, “Legitimacy Structures in the Ottoman State: The Reign of Abdulhamid II (1876-1909),” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 23, no. 3, (1991), 352-353.

²⁸ Mostafa Minawi, *The Ottoman Scramble for Africa: Empire and Diplomacy in the Sahara and the Hijaz* (California: Stanford University Press, 2016), 8.

²⁹ Kavas, “Afrika’da Sömürgeciliğin XIX. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısına Kadar Kurulamamasında Osmanlı Devleti’nin Rolü,” 107.

³⁰ Vincent Hiribarren, review of *The Ottoman Scramble for Africa: Empire and Diplomacy in the Sahara and the Hijaz*, by Mostafa Minawi, *Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 29, no.2 (May 2018), 272-274.

³¹ Minawi, *The Ottoman Scramble for Africa: Empire and Diplomacy in the Sahara and the Hijaz*, 9; Kavas, “Afrika’da Sömürgeciliğin XIX. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısına Kadar Kurulamamasında Osmanlı Devleti’nin Rolü,” 104.

³² Ibid, 108.

assistance of Britain to the Ottoman Empire, in the Crimean War in 1856, initiated a friendly Ottoman–British relationship. The support of Great Britain to Turkey in the Crimean War against Russia, and the Paris Treaty signed after the war, had a great impact in Ottoman circles.³³ Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals then came to regard Britain as the traditional friend and powerful ally of Turkey in Europe. During the time Britain and the Ottomans were on a friendly footing, the Ottoman *alim* (scholar) Abu Bakr Effendi was sent to the Cape Colony, a British dominion, in 1863.

5. An Ottoman scholar, Abu Bakr Effendi, in South Africa

Initially, the Cape Muslims requested a scholar from a Muslim country with a petition to the Cape Governor, in April 1862.³⁴ This petition was sent to the British Queen Victoria and then the British Parliament. The House of Commons referred the matter to Musurus Pasha, the Ottoman ambassador to London. Musurus Pasha mentioned the matter to the Ottoman Sultan Abdülaziz and he sent Abu Bakr Effendi as an emissary of the Sultan at the request of Queen Victoria in 1863.³⁵ The intention of his assignment to the Cape Colony was to resolve religious conflicts among the Muslim community in Cape Town. These conflicts were about questions such as: “Whether shaving one’s moustache renders a person a disbeliever or not?” or “Whether a marriage would be inaccurate if the *mehir* (bride wealth) of a woman exceeds 27.5 *kuruş*?” although the answers were common knowledge in a Muslim country.³⁶

In order to educate people and resolve the conflicts among the Muslim community, Abu Bakr Effendi opened two different Ottoman Theological schools, for boys and girls, in Cape Town. The school for boys was opened fifteen days after his arrival. There were

³³ Serhat Orakçı, “A Historical Analysis of the Emerging Links between the Ottoman Empire and South Africa” (Master’s diss., University of Johannesburg, 2007), 33.

³⁴ The Cape Town Muslims’ petition read as follows:

“As is well known, 85 years ago some of Javanese islands fell into the hands of the Dutch Government. Our fathers were all tied up in chains, enslaved and brought here. We were afflicted with suffering and problems; the Honourable British Empire set us free from slavery of the previous government and gave us liberty. For that, we thank the empire for its help and grace, and in case of necessity, it is incumbent upon us to sacrifice ourselves for its cause. We once again express our thanks and gratitude. It is obvious that each nation has to know and apply its religious and way of life and it is natural that we also ought to observe our way of life and practice. But we forgot our language of origin, the language of Javanese, the books and treatises are all written in that language and therefore we obviously need a teacher to read and teach them. Since the situation is like this it is requested to bring a scholar from a Muslim country in order to teach and train us.” Ibid, 39.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Selim Argun, “The Life and Contribution of the Osmanlı scholar, Abu Bakr Effendi, towards Islamic Thought and Culture in South Africa” (Master’s dissertation, Rand Afrikaans University, 2000), 50; Ahmet Uçar, *140 Yıllık Miras Güney Afrika’da Osmanlılar* (Istanbul, Tez Yayınları, 2001), 95.

more than three-hundred pupils enrolled in twenty days.³⁷ Some of the grandsons of the famous religious scholar Tuan Guru or Imam Abdullah Qadhu Abdus Salaam (1712–1807) were among his students.³⁸ Abu Bakr Effendi travelled to some other cities in South Africa as well as Mozambique and Mauritius at the request of Muslim communities.³⁹

So as to make an intimate contact with the South African Muslims, Abu Bakr Effendi learned English and Afrikaans (a dialect of Dutch). He wrote two books *Bayan ud-din* (1869) and *Marasid ud-din* in Afrikaans with Arabic scripts. *Bayan ud-din*, which was a condensed translation of *Mülteka'l-Ebhur* of İbrahim b. Muhammed el-Halebi (died in 956)⁴⁰, was printed in 1877 in Constantinople with 1500 copies and distributed to the Cape Muslims; while *Marasid ud-din* presumably could never be published.⁴¹ His book *Bayan ud-din* was one of the earliest examples of Arabic-Afrikaans or Ajami works, and therefore of great significance to historical linguists.⁴² Abu Bakr Effendi's pupils were familiar with Afrikaans, but not with its Latin scripts, as they could not go to the public schools. For liturgical reasons they could only read Arabic scripts, but were not able to speak Arabic.⁴³ Abu Bakr Effendi's letters were also published by *Mecmua-i Fünun*, a Turkish newspaper, between 1863 and 1880. From his arrival to his death in Cape Town, Abu Bakr Effendi gave relevant information about the history, geography, climate, economy, politics and culture of the Cape Colony to the Ottoman intellectuals.⁴⁴ He continued his education and religious activities until his death in 1880.

Abu Bakr Effendi initiated a good relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Muslims in South Africa and had a profound impact on the Cape Muslims. Sixty Cape Muslims wrote a letter presenting their thankfulness to Abdülaziz in 1863, for sending a religious *alim* to the Cape Colony.⁴⁵ The traditional Ottoman hat, the Fez became popular

³⁷ Orakçı, "A Historical Analysis of the Emerging Links Between the Ottoman Empire and South Africa," 47.

³⁸ Uçar, *140 Yıllık Miras Güney Afrika'da Osmanlılar*, 137.

³⁹ Orakçı, "A Historical Analysis of the Emerging Links Between the Ottoman Empire and South Africa," 47- 62.

⁴⁰ Uçar, *140 Yıllık Miras Güney Afrika'da Osmanlılar*, 118.

⁴¹ Orakçı, "A Historical Analysis of the Emerging Links Between the Ottoman Empire and South Africa," 55.

⁴² Martin Van Bruinessen, "A nineteenth-century Ottoman Kurdish scholar in South Africa: Abu Bakr Efendi," *Mullas, Sufis and heretics: the role of religion in Kurdish society. Collected articles*, (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2000), 133.

⁴³ Marloes Cornelissen, "South Africa: an Ottoman Colony?" *International Review of Turkish Studies*, vol. 3, no. 2 (2013), 70.

⁴⁴ Orakçı, "A Historical Analysis of the Emerging Links Between the Ottoman Empire and South Africa," 56.

⁴⁵ "His Imperial Highness (Majesty) the Sultan of Turkey
May It Please Your Imperial Highness (Majesty)

among Cape Muslim men after Abu Bakr Effendi introduced it and when an Australian troopship stopped over in Cape Town on its way to the Ottoman Empire in the time of WWI. Australian soldiers supposed that Turks already occupied the Cape, when they saw the Cape Muslims wearing *fezes*. This already demoralized them completely, before fighting on the front line.⁴⁶ The Ottoman sultan's name as the Caliph of all Muslims was mentioned in the Friday Sermons in the Cape Colony after Abu Bakr Effendi's arrival.⁴⁷ Cape Muslims also started to celebrate the birthday of the Ottoman Sultan a couple of years after Abu Bakr's arrival.⁴⁸ For instance, Cape Muslims who had attended the ceremony of the British Queen's birthday for years, celebrated the birthday of Sultan Abdülaziz as a great occasion in the mosques in 1867.⁴⁹ This demonstrated the charismatic leadership of the Ottoman Caliph-Sultan for the Muslims of Cape Town. The arrival of Abu Bakr Effendi rendered possible the consolidation of the religious influence of the Ottoman Sultan, first among Cape Town Muslims, later those of Port Elizabeth and the Transvaal.

One of Abu Bakr Effendi's students, Abdullah Agmat opened a cricket club called the "Ottoman Cricket Club" in Cape Town in 1882, which is still active today.

Abu Bakr Effendi was very important figure for the Ottoman Empire as well as the South African Muslims. He was the only Islamic *alim* (scholar) appointed from the Ottoman territories to a foreign country in order to educate non-Ottoman people.⁵⁰

6. Ottoman activities in South Africa after Abu Bakr Effendi

Islamic activities in South Africa continued with his sons, after the demise of Abu Bakr Effendi. Abu Bakr Effendi's eldest son Achmed Ataullah Effendi was appointed as

We undersigned, Imams, Hadjis, and Priests, beg to thank your Imperial Highness (Majesty) for your kindness in sending an Aleem to the Cape of Good Hope, in order truthfully to teach us our Musselman creed, agreeably to the Alcoran, and the delivery of our Prophet Mochammed Moestafa, peace be with him, and many blessings on Your Imperial Highness (Majesty), in this world, and hereafter. We herewith acknowledge that we are perfectly satisfied with Aboubeker Effendi. We have long desired to have an Aleem to teach our Musselman creed, and now that we have obtained one we feel grateful to Your Imperial Highness (Majesty), because the Aleem teaches correctly according to Alcoran, and the delivery of our Prophet, besides teaching our children Arabic, reading and writing and giving them a good education, instructing also those who come to him for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the meaning of galal and garam. We moreover pray Your Imperial Highness (Majesty), as we have been so very desirous to have an Aleem at the Cape of Good Hope, and have now got one in the person Aboubeker Effendi, through Your kindness, to allow the Aleem to remain among us, in order to teach our faith. With profound respect, We remain, Your Imperial Highness's (Majesty's) most grateful servants." Ibid, 48.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 55.

⁴⁷ Uçar, *140 Yıllık Miras Güney Afrika'da Osmanlılar*, 107.

⁴⁸ Orakçı, "A Historical Analysis of the Emerging Links Between the Ottoman Empire and South Africa," 49.

⁴⁹ Uçar, *140 Yıllık Miras Güney Afrika'da Osmanlılar*, 129, 130.

⁵⁰ Argun, "The Life and Contribution of the Osmanlı Scholar, Abu Bakr Effendi," 1.

principal of the Kimberley Ottoman Hamidiye School by Abdülhamid II in 1884, after receiving some education in Mecca and Al-Azhar, Cairo.⁵¹ Al-Azhar was one of the most outstanding educational institutions of that time. Kimberley Ottoman Hamidiye School was closed during the South African War (1899-1902) and he was appointed as principal of the Ottoman Theological School in Cape Town. He also learned Urdu in addition to English and Afrikaans. His study of Urdu, beyond any doubt, demonstrates his intimate relations with Indian Muslims in South Africa.⁵² Achmed Ataullah Effendi left South Africa when he was appointed as the first Ottoman Consul-General to Singapore for two years until his death in 1903.⁵³

Another son of Abu Bakr Effendi, Hisham Nimetullah Effendi was also a scholar in South Africa and was educated in Turkey for more than twenty years. He was regarded as a qualified *alim* (scholar) after his return to South Africa.⁵⁴ In 1894, he wrote three religious books in Afrikaans with Arabic script. Hisham Nimetullah Effendi was a prominent figure who strengthened the ties between the Ottoman caliphate and South African Muslims. He was rewarded with the fourth-rank Hamidiye medal (imperial medal) for his labour in educational activities and fund raising for the Hejaz Railway.⁵⁵ South African Muslims, surprisingly, donated at least 366 551 pounds for the construction of Hejaz Railway between 1900 and 1907.⁵⁶

Apart from the work of these prominent Ottoman figures, the Ottoman Empire established many educational and religious services for South African Muslims. Upon the request of Muslims, Sultan Abdülaziz donated 400 *lira* to finish the construction of a mosque that had remained incomplete, called Grace Street Mosque, in Port Elizabeth.⁵⁷ The mosque, completed in 1864, was the first in the Cape Colony to have a dome and minaret.⁵⁸ The Ottoman Empire afterwards opened schools named ‘Hamidiye schools’ in

⁵¹ Ibid, 11, 12; Orakçı, “A Historical Analysis of the Emerging Links Between the Ottoman Empire and South Africa,” 58.

⁵² Ibid, 59.

⁵³ Argun, “The Life and Contribution of the Osmanlı scholar, Abu Bakr Effendi,” 12.

⁵⁴ Orakçı, “A Historical Analysis of the Emerging Links Between the Ottoman Empire and South Africa,” 60.

⁵⁵ Argun, “The Life and Contribution of the Osmanlı scholar, Abu Bakr Effendi,” 13. Hejaz Railway was constructed between 1900 and 1908 during the reign of Abdülhamid II. The initial aim was to provide a vehicle for Muslims to perform their pilgrimage to the Holy Cities with a greater degree of comfort more than before. F. R. Maunsell, “The Hejaz Railway,” *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 32, no. 6 (December 1908), 570.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 30; Kimberley Muslims sent 300 *lira*; pupils of The Ottoman Theological School in Cape Town sent 5,5 *lira*; Hisham Nimetullah Effendi sent 18 *lira*; Head of the Durban Hijaz Railway Donation Commission, Davud Muhammed sent 1600 *lira* to Constantinople. Orakçı, “A Historical Analysis of the Emerging Links Between the Ottoman Empire and South Africa,” 72.

⁵⁷ Uçar, *140 Yıllık Miras Güney Afrika’da Osmanlılar*, 138; HR. MTV., 608/6.

⁵⁸ Orakçı, “A Historical Analysis of the Emerging Links Between the Ottoman Empire and South Africa,” 48, 49.

the reign of Abdülhamid II and established mosques in Cape Town, Durban, Kimberley and Port Elizabeth.⁵⁹

7. Ottoman Pan-Islamist policy in South Africa

The intention of the rulers of the Ottoman Empire to contribute to South African Muslims was primarily religious and political. Especially after 1878, the Ottoman Empire intended to apply an element of pressure on Britain, while using the prestige of the caliphate as an Islamic power.⁶⁰ Britain had a substantial Muslim population in her dominions, particularly in India. The largest group of South African Muslims was of Indian descent who had immigrated to South Africa from 1860 onwards. Abdülhamid II politicized Islam remarkably with his pan-Islamist policy and managed the influence of the caliphate against Britain. South Africa was a crucial playground for pan-Islamic propaganda. The Ottoman Empire endeavoured to secure good relations with South African Muslims via Ottoman scholars and consular representatives.⁶¹ In order to apply another element of pressure to Britain, Abdülhamid sent a war observer to the South African War in 1899, which will be discussed later.

South African Muslims were attached to the Ottoman sultan as their Caliph with profound respect. For instance, in 1900 Natal Muslims wrote a letter to Abdülhamid II on his silver jubilee with the assistance of Mahatma Gandhi. In the letter the Muslims referred to Abdülhamid as Caliph of the Faithful, protector of the Holy Cities and defender of the Islamic faith.⁶² In 1908, the opening ceremony of the Hijaz Railway Line and thirty-third anniversary of the reign of Abdülhamid II were celebrated by Muslims in South Africa, and they congratulated the Ottoman Sultan with telegrams. Imams gave speeches in every mosque about the occasion, while pupils of Islamic schools marched in Cape Town.⁶³

Muslims in South Africa held charity functions to collect money on behalf of people injured in the Russo-Ottoman War in 1877-78. The threat against the Ottoman sultan as Caliph and the Holy Sites during the Italian-Ottoman War and WWI also activated the South African Muslims. Particularly Cape Town and Transvaal Muslims protested the wars against the Ottoman Empire and raised funds for the Ottoman Red Crescent Society. During the war in Tripoli, Libya in 1911, a mass meeting was held in the Hamidia Islamic Society to protest Italy's hostilities and request British intervention in the matter.

⁵⁹ Argun, "The Life and Contribution of the Osmanlı Scholar, Abu Bakr Effendi," 30.

⁶⁰ Orakçı, "A Historical Analysis of the Emerging Links Between the Ottoman Empire and South Africa," 95.

⁶¹ Ibid, 14.

⁶² Orakçı, "A Historical Analysis of the Emerging Links Between the Ottoman Empire and South Africa," 70.

⁶³ Ibid, 72.

For South African Muslims, Italian action against the Ottoman Empire was “immoral, unjustifiable, uncivilised and high-handed”. They wished to frustrate Italy in her ‘evil’ designs and desired an Ottoman victory in her struggle for ‘honour’.⁶⁴ South African Muslims even declared their willingness to participate in the Ottoman–Italy war in Tripoli.⁶⁵ A total of nineteen Johannesburg Muslims informed the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs about their willingness to fight in the Italo–Turkish War.⁶⁶

During WWI, South African Muslims could not openly support the Ottoman Empire since they were British subjects. Only a couple of protests were held. The Transvaal Mohammedan Congress in Pretoria and the Hamidia Islamic Society in Johannesburg criticised the European threat on Constantinople and Palestine. They accepted the resolution of 19 March, 1919 signed by the All-Indian Muslim League in Bombay about the necessity of retaining Constantinople and Palestine under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire. South African Muslims sent a fund to the amount of 17.634 lira and 875 pounds to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of modern Turkey.⁶⁷ However, the newly-founded Turkish Republic, after the War of Independence (1914–1918), abolished the caliphate on 3 March, 1924. This abolition was a great blow to Muslims all over the world and the decision was confronted with utter disbelief in India.⁶⁸

Conclusion

The sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire in Africa started with the taking of Egypt in 1517 and continued until 1912, with the fall of Libya. Even though no real Ottoman settlement existed particularly in North Africa, the Ottoman Empire secured good relations with the Muslim states in Africa until the beginning of the twentieth century. Establishing a caliphate, with the conquest of Egypt, gave the Ottoman sultans the role of advocates of Islam and, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman sultans used the religious authority of the Caliphate.

The Ottoman material contribution to Africa, as well as the pan-Islamist policy of the Ottoman Caliph-Sultan, rendered possible the rise of Ottoman influence on this continent. The power of the idea of the caliphate was used as an instrument of legitimacy. The sacred power of the caliphate was effectively politicized during the Hamidian era to constitute a counterbalance against Great Britain. The abolition of the caliphate in 1924 diluted Turkish influence in Africa almost completely.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 74.

⁶⁵ Argun, “The Life and Contribution of the Osmanlı Scholar, Abu Bakr Effendi,” 30.

⁶⁶ Orakçı, “A Historical Analysis of the Emerging Links Between the Ottoman Empire and South Africa,” 74.

⁶⁷ Argun, “The Life and Contribution of the Osmanlı Scholar, Abu Bakr Effendi,” 30.

⁶⁸ Orakçı, “A Historical Analysis of the Emerging Links Between the Ottoman Empire and South Africa,” 80.

CHAPTER 2.

Ismail Kemal as an Ottoman intellectual, politician and Albanian nationalist

Introduction

In the previous chapter, the Ottoman interests and authority in Africa, particularly the southernmost tip of the continent, were examined. The political developments in Africa were on the agenda of Ottoman public opinion as well as the Ottoman intelligentsia. The South African War became an important topic in public discussions. Some intellectuals supported the cause of the Boers, while the others supported the British. Ismail Kemal, as a prominent Albanian Ottoman intellectual, became the leader of the pro-British Ottomans.

Ismail Kemal had a dual identity as an Ottoman–Albanian intellectual and politician. He was a prominent Ottoman political figure working in the Ottoman administrative and political service for more than fifty years, as well as a member of the Ottoman Chamber in the era of the Second Constitutional period (1908–1912).

Ismail Kemal was first a supporter and then opponent of the Young Turks, a rising force in the last epoch of the Ottoman Empire, advocating constitutional monarchy and opposing the Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid II. Initially, he was a liberal reformist attached to Ottoman identity and bent upon an autonomous Albania within the Ottoman Empire. Then he embarked on power struggles with Abdülhamid, the ruling sultan, and the Young Turks.

Ismail Kemal turned into an Albanian nationalist when he abandoned hope for the future of the Empire. On seeing the threat of the disintegration of Albanian-inhabited territories, during the Balkan Wars of 1912, he obtained approval from the Great Powers to found an independent Albania. Ismail Kemal was one of the crucial leaders of the Albanian cause and the first president of Albania. He embraced the nationalist doctrine of Albanian intellectuals founded during the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, announcing the freedom of Albania on 28 November, 1912.

This chapter investigates the political and intellectual life of Ismail Kemal as well as his relations with the Young Turks. Ismail Kemal's struggle for the Albanian cause and his personality are also examined. In this way, an attempt is made to understand his British advocacy by looking at his political and intellectual background. It is also hoped to make a contribution to the literature on Ismail Kemal.

2. 1. The political activities of Ismail Kemal

Ismail Kemal Bey is referred to variously in the documentation as ‘Avlonyalı İsmail Kemal’, ‘İsmail Kemal Vlora’, ‘İsmail Kemal Bey’, ‘İsmail Kemal Bej’, ‘İsmail Qemali’, ‘İsmail Qemali Vlora’, ‘İsmail Kemal Bey Avlona’ or ‘İsmail Qemal Bey Vlora’. He was born in 1844 according to his memoirs and 1847 according to the Ottoman archival documents in Avlonya (Valona), Albania as the son of a well-known Albanian family and a descendant of Sinan Pasha who was a *kaptan-ı derya* (Grand Admiral of the fleet).⁶⁹ Sinan Pasha was the son-in-law of Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II, whose family stretched back four hundred years.⁷⁰ Many Ottoman administrators were recruited from the Vlora dynasty, until the collapse of the empire.⁷¹

Ismail Kemal learned Turkish when he was in elementary school.⁷² In 1855 he graduated first in his class in the famous Zosimaia Elen, which was one of the most outstanding high schools of Greece at that time. Ismail Kemal studied Greek, French and Italian at the school. Many of the Albanian-speaking elite studied at this Greek state-funded high school in Ioannina, such as the Frasheri brothers, Daut Boriçi, Hodo Sokoli, and Jusuf Tabaku.⁷³

Ismail Kemal came to Constantinople in 1860 to study law and, with the assistance of his uncle, he entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a translator.⁷⁴ He was appointed attaché to the Paris embassy (*sefaret*), though he did not take up this position due to the death of his sister.⁷⁵ He established a relationship with the Young Ottomans, such as Namık Kemal and Ziya Pasha in 1865.⁷⁶ Kemal became the governor of Rusçuk (Ruse, Bulgaria) in May 1866.⁷⁷

Ismail Kemal was a close collaborator of Midhat Pasha (1822–1884), the Grand Vizier and he advanced rapidly in Pasha’s entourage.⁷⁸ During the governorship of Midhat

⁶⁹ *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, ed. by SommervilleStory (London: Constable and Company, 1920), 1; The Ottoman Prime Minister’s Archives, DH. Said. D: 26/471; İhsan Burak Birecikli, “Avlonyalı İsmail Kemal Bey’in Siyasi Faaliyetleri (1870-1908),” *Akademik Bakış*, vol. 3, no. 5, 2009, 96.

⁷⁰ Birecikli, “Avlonyalı İsmail Kemal Bey’in Siyasi Faaliyetleri,” 97.

⁷¹ Avlonyalı Süreyya Bey, *Osmanlı Sonrası Arnavutluk (1912-1920)* prep. by Abdulhamit Kırmızı (İstanbul: Klasik, 2009), 20.

⁷² *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 13.

⁷³ Isa Blumi, “Teaching Loyalty in the Late Ottoman Balkans: Educational Reform in the Vilayets of Manastir and Yanya, 1878-1912,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, vol. 21, no. 1&2 (2001), 15-23, 17.

⁷⁴ Necip Alpan, *Arnavutluğun Bağımsızlığı ve Avlonyalı İsmail Kemal* (Ankara, 1982), 33.

⁷⁵ *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 21.

⁷⁶ Birecikli, “Avlonyalı İsmail Kemal Bey’in Siyasi Faaliyetleri,” 99.

⁷⁷ *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 27.

⁷⁸ Stavro Skendi, *The Albanian National Awakening (1878-1902)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 183; Süreyya Bey, *Osmanlı Sonrası Arnavutluk*, 141.

Pasha in Tuna, Danube (now Bulgaria), Ismail Kemal became the correspondence manager and the editor of the newspaper *Le Danube*.⁷⁹ When Midhat Pasha was appointed as the president of newly founded *Conseil d'Etat* in 1867, Ismail Kemal became the *maître de requêtes* of the first class in the *Conseil d'Etat* office.⁸⁰ Midhat Pasha was assigned as the governor-general of Mesopotamia after a year and Ismail Kemal returned to the Diplomatic and Political Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.⁸¹

Albanian intellectuals in Istanbul, and Ismail Kemal, wanted *Sadrazam* (the Grand Vizier) Âli Pasha (1815-1875), to open an Albanian-language-medium school. Kemal Bey fell into disfavour and was appointed to the governorship of Varna, to remove him from Istanbul.⁸² He became the delegate of the Lower Danube Province and the Ottoman president of the European Commission of the Danube.⁸³ He returned to Istanbul in 1871 and worked on the Albanian alphabet and opening schools in Albanian with Albanian intellectuals such as Şemsettin Sami Fresheri and Mehmed Ferid Vlora. However, their attempts remained inconclusive until 1878, with the foundation of the League of Prizren.⁸⁴

Ismail Kemal resigned and went to Europe. Subsequently, in 1876 with the declaration of the First Constitutional Monarchy, Ismail Kemal arrived in Istanbul. He worked with Midhat Pasha on the preparation of *Kanun-u Esasi* (The Ottoman Basic Law).⁸⁵ The *Eyalet* system would be applied in the empire and all the Albanian *vilayets* would be gathered in a single *eyalet* according to the reforms that Midhat Pasha proposed.⁸⁶ During the Grand Vizierate of Midhat Pasha (December 1876 to February 1877), Ismail Kemal was appointed Secretary General of the Foreign Office. Nevertheless, when Midhat Pasha was exiled, Ismail Kemal resigned his office.⁸⁷

2. 2. The League of Prizren and the exile of Ismail Kemal

Ismail Kemal was one of the leaders of the League of Prizren, founded in 1878 in Prizren, Kosova *Vilayeti* (province) of the Ottoman Empire. This organisation was established after the disgrace of Turkey in the Russo-Ottoman War in 1877–1878. The empire was imposed upon by Russia to sign the severe articles of the Treaty of San Stefano. The

⁷⁹ *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 39.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 39, 40.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, 42, 43.

⁸² Alpan, *Arnavutluğun Bağımsızlığı ve Avlonyalı İsmail Kemal*, 34.

⁸³ *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 47.

⁸⁴ Alpan, *Arnavutluğun Bağımsızlığı ve Avlonyalı İsmail Kemal*, 34.

⁸⁵ Birecikli, “Avlonyalı İsmail Kemal Bey’in Siyasi Faaliyetleri,” 100.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*.

⁸⁷ Alpan, *Arnavutluğun Bağımsızlığı ve Avlonyalı İsmail Kemal*, 34.

Ottomans left a great deal of Albanian-inhabited territory to the Balkan Slavic nations. The Great Powers especially Great Britain and Austria-Hungary refused the provisions of the treaty, which were detrimental to their interests. The Congress of Berlin was held to revise the Treaty of San Stefano on 13 June, 1878. The Albanian leaders gathered in Prizren to take action for Albanian territorial integrity and founded the Albanian League for the Defence of the Rights of the Albanian Nation (the League of Prizren).⁸⁸ Initially, the Ottoman government supported this formation. However, the League was dismantled by *Bab-ı Ali* (the Sublime Porte) when it claimed political autonomy and the movement was suppressed by Ottoman troops.⁸⁹ Ismail Kemal was put on probation in Kütahya by Abdülhamid II between 1877 and 1884, presumably because he took an active part in the foundation of the League of Prizren. Besides this, he also became the leader of the demonstration held for Midhat Pasha on the day he was exiled to Europe.⁹⁰ With ninety deputies, Ismail Kemal requested Abdülhamid to reinstate Midhat on 22 May, 1877.⁹¹

2. 3. Forgiveness of Ismail Kemal Bey

In 1884, he was pardoned and nominated to the governorship of Bolu. Abdülhamid II then assigned him to the governorship of Gallipoli. Ismail Kemal rejected it many times, but accepted eventually in 1890.⁹² He stayed there for two months and was appointed to the governorship of Beirut. Probably, Abdülhamid II wanted to send him away from the centre of the empire. He was also summoned to the governorship of Syria for a month until the coming of Mehmed Şerif Rauf Pasha in 1892.⁹³

Ismail Kemal returned to Istanbul in 1892 and stayed there until 1900. Kemal proposed memorandums to Abdülhamid II about liberal reforms in the Ottoman Empire during his stay in *payitaht*, Istanbul. Particularly famous is Kemal Bey's "windy, wordy and pusillanimous project of reform" proposed to Abdülhamid II, dated in 1897.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ "Just as we are not and do not want to be Turks, so we shall oppose with all our might anyone who would like to turn us into Slavs or Austrians or Greeks. We want to be Albanians." (13 June 1878, memorandum given in the League of Prizren), cited in Stavro Skendi, *The Albanian National Awakening (1878-1912)*, 45; Stavro Skendi, "Beginnings of Albanian Nationalist and Autonomous Trends: The Albanian League, 1878-1881," *The American Slavic and East European Review*, vol. 12, no. 2 (April 1953), 220.

⁸⁹ Barbara Jelavich, review of *The Albanian National Awakening 1878-1912*, by Stavro Skendi, *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 40 no. 4 (December 1968), 685.

⁹⁰ Ali Haydar Mithat, *Hatıralarım 1872-1946* (Istanbul: Akçit, 1946), 164.

⁹¹ Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. 2: *Reform, Revolution and Republic: the Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975* (New York: Cambridge University Press: 1977), 185.

⁹² *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 189, 190.

⁹³ Süreyya Bey, *Osmanlı Sonrası Arnavutluk*, 22.

⁹⁴ Şerif Arif Mardin, "Libertarian Movements in the Ottoman Empire 1878-1895," *Middle East Journal*, vol. 16, no. 2 (Spring 1962), 175.

After the exile of Midhat Pasha and himself, Ismail Kemal struggled for a constitutional monarchy in the Ottoman Empire.⁹⁵ Süreyya Bey Vlora (1860-1940), cousin of Kemal Ismail Bey and an Ottoman statesman and intellectual, noted that Ismail Kemal was one of the notables who endeavoured most for the constitutional monarchy.⁹⁶ However, according to him, Ismail Kemal never followed a political order devoutly.⁹⁷ Ismail Kemal's other objective, after falling into disfavor, was an autonomous Albania within the Ottoman state. However, after the Balkan Wars in 1912, he struggled wholeheartedly for an independent Albania.

2. 4. The flight of Ismail Kemal

In May, 1900, he was assigned to the governorship of Tripoli by Abdülhamid II. It is surely beyond doubt that this post was a proper exile, and so Ismail Kemal fled to Greece. The importance of his flight for the palace was Ismail Kemal's important position among prominent Albanian leaders.⁹⁸

The Ottoman government already had suspicions about his activities for the Albanian cause, even before his escape.⁹⁹ According to Ottoman Archival documents, Kemal sought to get support from Greece for an independent Albania, while he was in Greece.¹⁰⁰ He mentioned the 'Greek-Albanian fraternity' in a memorandum that was published there, and also tried to found a Greek-Albanian Union.¹⁰¹ Moreover, there was a rumour that Ismail Kemal gathered the Albanian Christians of Ioannina, who could possibly create a Christian-Muslim consensus for the Albanian cause. His cousin, Ferid Pasha the Grand Vizier however, assured Abdülhamid that Ismail Kemal was an insignificant person for the Albanians.¹⁰²

After his flight to Europe, Ismail Kemal published a newspaper called *Albania* with Faik Bey Konitza (Koniçe) in Brussels in 1897.¹⁰³ Since Ismail Kemal could not achieve consensus with Faik Bey, he published *Le Salut de l'Albanie* (*Salvation of Albania*) in

⁹⁵ *Mizancı Murad Bey'in II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Hatıraları Hürriyet Vadisinde Bir Pençe-i İstibdad*, trans. by Celile Eren (Ökten) Argıt (Istanbul: Marifet Yayınları, 1997), 201.

⁹⁶ Süreyya Bey, *Osmanlı Sonrası Arnavutluk*, 141.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük (1889-1902)* (Istanbul: İletişim, 1986), 353.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Serkan Yazıcı, "Osmanlı'da Siyasi Muhalefetin Kurumsallaşma Süreci (1902-1909)," (PhD diss., Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2011), 162.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 162.

¹⁰² Abdulhamit Kırmızı, "Experiencing the Ottoman Empire as a Life Course: Ferit Pasha, Governor and Grandvizier (1851-1914), *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 40. Jahrg., H. 1, Imperiale Biographien (Januar-Marz 2014), 60.

¹⁰³ Süreyya Bey, *Osmanlı Sonrası Arnavutluk*, 22, 23.

Albanian, Greek and Turkish, by himself.¹⁰⁴ The Turkish part was published at Folkestone, England, the Albanian version was printed at Brussels, and the Greek was sent to Athens to be set up.¹⁰⁵

In 1901 Ismail Kemal was invited to Egypt by the Albanian diaspora. The Ottoman Archival documents show that in Egypt Ismail Kemal founded an association called ‘*Şafak*’ with the Albanians, the Armenians and some of the Young Turks, with the help of the Khedive.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, Kemal was denounced by Mehmed Ali Pasha, brother of the Khedive, after Kemal offered Mehmed Ali Pasha the Albanian throne. Kemal was tried for high treason in the court of Constantinople upon this denunciation. He was condemned to death in absentia and his civil rights, ranks, dignities, decorations and property were taken.¹⁰⁷ Henceforth, he was mentioned in the Ottoman Archival documents as ‘*müfşid*’ (seditious), ‘escapee Ismail Kemal Vlora and a number of pests’ and ‘abuse instrument of the British’.¹⁰⁸ Ali Kemal (1867–1922), an Ottoman journalist and politician indicated that Ismail Kemal’s offering the Albanian throne to the brother of Khedive was a lie. To him, Kemal regarded the Khedive and his brother as worthless men.¹⁰⁹

Ismail Kemal got in touch with the Young Turks when he fled to Europe. The Committee of Union and Progress organised a congress in Paris, at which the Young Turks who escaped to Europe would discuss the situation of the Empire. However, the Young Turk groups could not reach consensus. Ismail Kemal Bey’s group attempted a coup that proved to be unsuccessful with British cooperation in 1903. They persuaded Recep Pasha, the governor of Tripoli of their plan.¹¹⁰ The committee also agreed upon the Armenian and the Albanian organisations to get assistance.¹¹¹ He had already prepared the declaration which he would give to the soldiers when they arrived at Istanbul: “If you do not overthrow Abdülhamid, settling at Yıldız Hill today, the cross will stand on the dome of *Ayasofya* (Hagia Sophia) and on Sultanahmet (Blue Mosque) on this other hill.”¹¹² However, the coup attempt fell by the wayside when Recep Pasha changed his

¹⁰⁴ Alpan, *Arnavutluğun Bağımsızlığı ve Avlonyalı İsmail Kemal*, 36.

¹⁰⁵ *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 303.

¹⁰⁶ The Ottoman Prime Minister’s Archives, Y.E.E D: 87/57; Birecikli, “Avlonyalı İsmail Kemal Bey’in Siyasi Faaliyetleri,” 106.

¹⁰⁷ *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 305.

¹⁰⁸ The Ottoman Prime Minister’s Archives, Y.A. Hus. D: 512/118; DH. Mkt. D: 505/60; Birecikli, “Avlonyalı İsmail Kemal Bey’in Siyasi Faaliyetleri,” 106.

¹⁰⁹ Ahmed Bedevi Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İnkılap Hareketleri ve Milli Mücadele*, ed. by Ali Berktaş (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012), 306.

¹¹⁰ Ernest Edmansson Ramsaur, *Jön Türkler ve 1908 İhtilalinin Doğuşu*, trans. by, Muhsin Mengüşoğlu (İstanbul, Pınar Yayınları, 2004), 108.

¹¹¹ Mehmet Hacısalıhoğlu, *Jön Türkler ve Makedonya Sorunu (1890-1918)* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2008), 104.

¹¹² Ali Haydar Mithat, *Hatıralarım*, 170, 171.

mind. The reason of the failure of the coup was not, presumably, Ismail Kemal's frivolous attitude but rather that he struggled for the independence of Albania.¹¹³

2. 5. The April 13th (31 March) incident

The Committee of Union and Progress declared *Meşrutiyet* (constitutionalism) in 23 July, 1908 with an uprising against Abdülhamid II, the ruling Sultan. Until 1908, Ismail Kemal lived between Rome, Paris, Geneva, London and Brussels. Right after the Young Turk Revolution in 1908, Ismail Kemal returned to Istanbul as the Deputy for Berat, Albania in the Ottoman Parliament. There were two parties in the chamber, the Party of Union and Progress as the ruling party and the liberal wing "*Ahrar Fırkası*" in opposition, of which Ismail Kemal took on the leadership. The CUP had indirect control of the government and discontent emerged against the oppression of the CUP. The Liberal Party could not achieve the success that was expected of it, and a majority of Unionist deputies won the election.¹¹⁴ The opposition recognised the impossibility of obtaining the power through legal means, so they tried to provide support to the traditional conservative groups with religious discourses.¹¹⁵

On 7 April, Hasan Fehmi who was an anti-Unionist and editor of *Serbesti*, was assassinated on the Galata Bridge, Istanbul. His funeral degenerated into a show of political strength by the Liberals. On the night of 12/13 April, 1909, an enormous group consisting of the antagonists of the policy conducted by the CUP, carried out a rebellion called the 'Incident of 31 March'. Istanbul garrisons and *softas* (theological students) marched to the *Ayasofya* Square claiming the restoration of the *Sheriat* (Islamic Law).¹¹⁶ Despite the existence of both elements, the Incident of 31 March was neither counter-revolutionary in the political sense nor reactionary in the religious. These elements were non-influential and ambiguous once the CUP was overthrown.¹¹⁷

The soldiers captured the Ottoman capital for seven days and requested the abdication of the cabinet, resignation of some commanders and enforcement of religious law. They also demanded that Ismail Kemal be the president of the chamber and Kamil Pasha be the Grand Vizier. Ismail Kemal and Hoca Vasfi Efendi asserted that there was no way but to accept the requests of the rebels in order to suppress the mutiny.¹¹⁸ Ismail Kemal claimed that he was unanimously elected the President of the Chamber with 60 votes, in place of

¹¹³ Sina Akşin, *100 Soruda Jön Türkler ve İttihat Terakki* (Istanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1980), 43.

¹¹⁴ Bilgin Çelik, "31 Mart İsyanında İsmail Kemal Bey'in Rolü," *Toplumsal Tarih*, vol. 20, no. 124 (April 2004), 86.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, 87.

¹¹⁶ Feroz Ahmad, "The Young Turk Revolution," *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 3, no. 3, *The Middle East* (July 1968), 29.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, 30.

¹¹⁸ Celal Bayar, *Ben de Yazdım Milli Mücadeleye Gidiş*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Sabah, 1997), 104.

positivist Ahmed Rıza Bey.¹¹⁹ However, the first round of the election achieved no result and Mustafa Efendi, the deputy of Halep (Aleppo) was elected with 111 votes in the second round, in which Ismail Kemal received only 47 votes.

It was thought that the Liberal Union (*Ahrar Fırkası*), Prens Sabahaddin, Ismail Kemal, Kamil Pasha and his son Said Pasha, Mizancı Murad, Derviş Vahdeti and his community, *İttihad-ı Muhammedi Cemiyeti* (Muhammadan Union) and theology students had organized the rebellion.¹²⁰ Despite the fact that the real instigator of the 13 April incident is still unknown today, it was suspected that Britain managed the incident behind the scenes. ‘*Volkan* newspaper’ published by Derviş Vahdeti (1869–1909) had an important role in the mutiny.¹²¹ It is uncertain how *Volkan* was financed when it was distributed free of charge.¹²² Ahmet Emin (Yalman) (1888–1972), who was a journalist at that time, averred in his memoirs that Derviş Vahdeti, was chosen by the British intelligence service, trained as a revolutionary agent and put on stage to stir the pot.¹²³ This suspicion about British interference became stronger during the trials after the uprising. The CUP hindered the investigations in order not to drive a wedge between the Great Powers.¹²⁴

It is very hard to say to what extent Great Britain took part in the incident. Nonetheless, the most significant unanimity of the opponents of the CUP was their intimacy with British politics. *Ahrar Fırkası* and Derviş Vahdeti were supporters of Britain. Furthermore, Britain approved the uprising against the CUP and the British embassy gave support to the liberals during the mutiny.¹²⁵ In order to prevent action by the Third Army, which would quell the uprising, Ismail Kemal requested British Ambassador Gerard Lowther (1858–1916) to request the British consuls in Macedonia “to assure the population that the Constitution was not compromised” by the revolution.¹²⁶ To Ismail Kemal, intervention of the Action Army (*Hareket Ordusu*) would cause massacres and looting of a terrible description in the capital.¹²⁷ Britain endeavoured very much to hinder the army’s entering Istanbul.¹²⁸ Furthermore, Lowther, and Gerald Fitzmaurice the first

¹¹⁹ *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 335; Bernard Lewis, *Modern Türkiye’nin Doğuşu*, trans. by Metin Kırıatlı (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1970), 215.

¹²⁰ Akif Deniz, “Derviş Vahdet-i ve 31 Mart Olayı” (Master’s diss., Fırat Üniversitesi, 2005), 46.

¹²¹ Necdet Aysal, “Örgütlenmeden Eyleme Geçiş: 31 Mart Olayı,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, no. 37-38 (May-November 2006), 18.

¹²² Ahmad, “The Young Turk Revolution,” 30.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ Yeşim Küreli, “1908-1914 Yılları Arasında Osmanlı’da Hükümet Darbeleri ve Sonuçları” (Master’s diss., Gazi Üniversitesi, 2007), 79.

¹²⁵ Muhammet Emin Çaycı, “Osmanlı Basınında 31 Mart Olayı” (Master’s diss., Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, 2009), 79; Feroz Ahmad, “Great Britain’s Relations with the Young Turks 1908-1914,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 2, no. 4 (July 1966), 314.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 343, 344.

¹²⁸ Çaycı, “Osmanlı Basınında 31 Mart Olayı,” 79.

dragoman (translator) of the British Embassy, indicated that Britain had intrigued by manipulating the liberal *Ahrar Fırkası*. They also gave money to some newspaper, which provoked the uprising. Liberals, with the support of the British Embassy, negotiated with the Action Army, which remained inactive. Presumably, Lowther's intention to assist the liberals was to bring back former grand vizier Kamil Pasha, who was an ardent admirer of England.¹²⁹ According to Feroz Ahmad, the role of London on this occasion cannot be verified since the documents related to the event were removed from the British Archives.¹³⁰

As soon as Ismail Kemal learned by telegram about his imminent arrest by Tevfik Pasha, the Grand Vizier, he placed himself under the protection of the British Embassy, on 20 April, 1909.¹³¹ Meanwhile, the Third Army or Action Army from Macedonia recaptured Istanbul and the success of this army was interpreted as a victory for Germany and a thrashing for Britain.¹³² Ismail Kemal was subject to a judicial inquiry, but no evidence was found to tie him to the events of 13 April. He returned Istanbul to take part in Parliament.¹³³ He became the leader of newly-founded Liberal Party '*Mutedil Hürriyetperveran Fırkası*'. Ali Haydar Mithat noted that after the suppression of the rebellion, Ismail Kemal concentrated only on the Albanian declaration of independence.¹³⁴

2. 6. Ismail Kemal's opposition to the Young Turks

After the failure of coup attempt in 1903, Ismail Kemal fell out with the Prince Sabahaddin group as well and started activities openly for the Albanian cause. Especially after 1906, pan-Turanism or Turkish nationalism became the administrative ideology of the Committee of Union and Progress. This shift caused unrest among the non-Turkish members of the CUP and they advocated their own respective nationalist movements. For instance, Ismail Kemal took part actively in the Albanian nationalist movement.¹³⁵ Mizancı Murad, an Ottoman intellectual (1854–1917), implied that the Ali Rıza Bey group had decided to “fend off Kemal from the CUP and tried to disfavour him with the accusation and slander”.¹³⁶ They considered him “*haric-i vatan*” (exempt country).¹³⁷

¹²⁹ Ahmad, “Great Britain's Relations with the Young Turks,” 314.

¹³⁰ Feroz Ahmad, “İngilizler İrticaya Oynadı,” trans. by Ahmet Kuyas, *NTV Tarih*, no. 3 (April 2009), 43.

¹³¹ *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 344, 345; Hacısalihioğlu, *Jön Türkler ve Makedonya Sorunu (1890-1918)*, 297.

¹³² Çelik, “31 Mart İsyanında İsmail Kemal Bey'in Rolü,” 89.

¹³³ *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 346, 347.

¹³⁴ Ali Haydar Mithat, *Hatıralarım*, 208.

¹³⁵ M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 211.

¹³⁶ *Mizancı Murad Bey'in II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Hatıraları*, 201.

¹³⁷ *Ibid*, 213.

Indeed, the committee hindered Ismail Kemal's election to the Ottoman Chamber in 1912.¹³⁸

According to Ismail Kemal, initially the political agenda of the committee, "which united all the ethnical elements under the same flag of justice and equality", and consequently eliminated foreign intervention, seemed to coincide with the Albanian national aspirations.¹³⁹ The Young Turks asked for the assistance of the Albanians to promulgate the constitution. Ten thousand armed Albanians gathered in Firzovik (Ferizaj), Kosovo and sent Abdülhamid the famous telegram. According to his memoirs, the Sultan consulted with Ismail Kemal who advised Abdülhamid to reinstate the constitution.¹⁴⁰ It was declared two days later. However, the programme of the CUP was originally Turkish, nationalist and centralist.¹⁴¹ With the efforts of the unionists reinforcing the central authority, towards the middle of 1909, Albanian trust was betrayed by the committee.¹⁴² This centralization policy caused many revolts in Albania. The Young Turks, to Ismail Kemal, had a plan to deny the different Ottoman ethnicities of their origins. The first consequence of this strategy was the declaration of Bulgarian independence on 5 October, 1908 and the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary on 8 October.¹⁴³ According to Ismail Kemal, the most dangerous and strongest ethnic element in the committee was the Albanians and "nothing was neglected that could foment trouble, and all kinds of repressive measures were resorted to with the sole aim of crushing what was believed to be the head of the Nationalist Medusa".¹⁴⁴ The committee regarded the Albanian people as "Mussulman people having no political ideal beyond a desire to avoid the payment of taxes." However, the aggressive policy of the CUP against the Albanians triggered their nationalist feelings and ignited the rebellion. Ismail Kemal made great efforts in the Parliament, with his Albanian colleagues, to hinder the 'senseless' struggle of the committee on behalf of the Albanian people, yet their sincere warnings remained neglected.¹⁴⁵ With the acceleration of the Albanian cause, expectations of the differences of opinion between the Unionists and Albanians became far greater in 1910.¹⁴⁶ The harsh stubbornness of the Young Turks 'in their attempt to absorb the nationalities' made the Albanian struggle inevitable and forced them to fight for their national freedom.¹⁴⁷

¹³⁸ Hacısalihoglu, *Jön Türkler ve Makedonya Sorunu (1890-1918)*, 351.

¹³⁹ *Mizancı Murad Bey'in II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Hatıraları*, 365.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 366.

¹⁴¹ Robert William Seton-Watson, *The Rise of Nationality in the Balkans* (New York: Dutton and Company, 1918), 189.

¹⁴² Çelik, "31 Mart İsyanında İsmail Kemal Bey'in Rolü," 90.

¹⁴³ *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 366.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 350.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 367.

¹⁴⁶ Hacısalihoglu, *Jön Türkler ve Makedonya Sorunu*, 386.

¹⁴⁷ *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 368.

Another crucial element for the Albanian uprising was the threat of Albanian disintegration. The fear of the Italo-Turkish war in 1911 caused a general discontent among the Albanians. Then, the Balkan Wars of 1912 between the Ottoman Empire and Balkan States became an epoch-making period for the Albanians as Albanian territories were besieged by Greece and Serbia.¹⁴⁸

2. 7. The foundation of Albania

In the Balkan Wars the Albanians divided into two groups. One group defended their lands with the Ottomans, while the Albanian nationalists from Vlorë (Valona) and Berat were spreading propaganda against the empire. Their propaganda was aimed at the Albanian soldiers, such as; “Albania is a state on her own now. So, the Turkish war does not concern the Albanians.” Also, in his memoirs Mahmud Şevket Pasha (1856–1913), the Grand Vizier, noted the treachery of Ismail Kemal in the fall of Yanya (Ioannina).¹⁴⁹

Ismail Kemal went to Romania and held a meeting in Bucharest, and went there by way of Dıraç (Durrës), Albania.¹⁵⁰ Here, Ismail Kemal tried to declare the independence of Albania and held a meeting with the dignitaries of Durrës. However, the intelligentsia were astonished by his idea and viewed it with apprehension. Ismail Kemal then left Durrës and went to his home-town, Vlorë where he met with notables he trusted, such as Midhat Frashëri and Murad Bey Toptani.¹⁵¹ Ultimately, a total of eighty-three persons decided to declare the freedom of Albania and Ismail Kemal announced its independence on 28 November, 1912.¹⁵² The provisional government was founded the next day and Ismail Kemal became the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸ H. Charles Woods, “Albania and Albanians,” *Geographical Review*, vol. 5, no. 4 (April 1918), 268.

¹⁴⁹ Hacısalihoglu, *Jön Türkler ve Makedonya Sorunu*, 413.

¹⁵⁰ Necip Alpan, *Tarihin Işığında Bugünkü Arnavutluk* (Ankara: Ulucanlar Matbaası, 1973), 76.

¹⁵¹ Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İnkılap Hareketleri ve Milli Mücadele*, 585.

¹⁵² “The Congress was at once opened. At its first sitting -November 15-28, 1912- it voted unanimously [for] the proclamation of independence. The sitting was then suspended, and the members left the hall to hoist upon my house -the house where I was born and where my ancestors had lived- amid the acclamations of thousands of people, the glorious flag of Scanderbeg, who had slept wrapped in its folds for the last 445 years. It was an unforgettable moment for me, and my hands shook with hope and pride as I fixed to the balcony of the old dwelling the standard of the last national Sovereign of Albania. It seemed as if the spirit of the immortal hero passed at that moment like a sacred fire over the heads of the people.” *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 372.

¹⁵³ Telegram sent by Ismail Kemal about the notification of the constitution of Albania to the Great Powers and the Ottoman Empire:

“The National Assembly, consisting of delegates from all parts of Albania, without distinction of religion, who have today met in the town of Valona, have proclaimed the political independence of Albania and constituted a Provisional Government entrusted with the task of defending the rights of the Albanian people, menaced with extermination by the Serbian Armies, and of freeing the national soil invaded by foreign forces. In bringing these facts to the knowledge of Your Excellency, I have the honour to ask the Government of His Britannic Majesty to recognise this change in the political life of the Albanian nation.

He said, in the Albanian Declaration of Independence, that there was no other way except the independence of his country, since Albania was faced with danger from the Greeks and the Serbians.¹⁵⁴ Ismail Kemal explained the reason for the Albanian uprising as that the Albanians had become aware that the empire was weakened. They cried with one voice, “Let her commit suicide if she wishes; we intend to survive.”¹⁵⁵

The *ex parte* declaration of the independence of Albanians increased the desertion of Albanian soldiers from the Ottoman army, particularly in Ioannina. Ismail Hakkı Okday (1881-1977), military commander during the First Balkan War and diplomat, pointed out the number of the escapees, at least 10 000. Vehip Pasha (1877-1940), Commander of the Ioannina corps in the Balkan War of 1912 gave speeches constantly in order to preclude escapes.¹⁵⁶

After the declaration of freedom, Esad Pasha suddenly founded his own government in Durres on 12 October, 1913. When Süreyya Bey went to Durres, the government of Ismail Kemal in Vlora was further weakened.¹⁵⁷ According to the memoirs of Süreyya Bey Vlora, the Albanians’ hope for Ismail Kemal as a ruler, who had high intelligence and profound knowledge, remained unsatisfied. Kemal was careless of his cabinet and he appointed people with bad intentions.¹⁵⁸ He admitted illiterate and inexperienced people into the civil service and he invented redundant offices.¹⁵⁹

Ismail Kemal Bey also desired foreign intervention in Albanian affairs.¹⁶⁰ For instance, he wanted Austria-Hungary to establish Albanian schools to raise Albanian national

The Albanians, who have entered into the family of the peoples of Eastern Europe, of whom they flatter themselves that they are the eldest, are pursuing one only aim, to live in peace with all the Balkan States and become an element of equilibrium. They are convinced that the Government of His Majesty, as well as the whole civilised world, will accord them a benevolent welcome by protecting them against all attacks on their national existence and against any dismemberment of their territory." Ibid, 372, 373.

¹⁵⁴ Süreyya Bey, *Osmanlı Sonrası Arnavutluk*, 53.

¹⁵⁵ *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 361, 362.

¹⁵⁶ “Arnavutlar! Evlerimize ne hisle ve hakla döneceğiz? Kadınlarımıza ve çocuklarımıza erkek olduğumuzu hangi hakka dayanarak söyleyebileceğiz? Arnavutlar, siz ne oldunuz? Bütün Dünya erkekce cesaretinizi, kahramanlığınızı, fedailiğinizi ve yürekliliğinizi bilir, söylerdi... Şimdi ise herkes bu hale ne der? ...Cedlerinizin huzuruna nasıl çıkacaksınız? Ne yüzle çıkacaksınız?... Arnavutlar! Hemşerilerim! Ya Arnavutluğun (Arnavutluk’un) şerefini, vatanımızın şanını ve istiklalini muhafaza edelim yahud da hepimiz ölelim...” Yüksel Nizamoğlu, “Vehip Paşa (Kaçı)’nın Hayatı ve Askeri Faaliyetleri,” (PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2010), 84.

¹⁵⁷ Süreyya Bey, *Osmanlı Sonrası Arnavutluk*, 53.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, 141.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, 405.

¹⁶⁰ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902-1908* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 15.

consciousness. To him, only Austria could maintain the *status quo* in the Balkans and protect Albanian-inhabited territories against the threat of Pan-Slavism.¹⁶¹

It is also noteworthy to assert that he desired to create Albania as a European state. In his memoirs, he expressed his mission to demonstrate to Europe that Albania was capable of self-management and was worthy of the confidence of the Great Powers.¹⁶² Kemal also declared, he wanted a Christian and European ruler for Albania, since only a European sovereign could guide this newly founded state to its entrance to the great European family.¹⁶³ In the telegram he sent to the Great Powers and the Ottoman Empire after the foundation of Albania, Kemal emphasised that Albania “entered into the family of the peoples of Eastern Europe”. He also determined the Albanians to be the oldest Eastern European nation.¹⁶⁴

Another late Ottoman and Albanian intellectual, Sami Frasheri or Şemseddin Sami (1850–1904), also declared in his canonical text named, *Albania: Past, Present, Future* (1899) that the Albanians were not Turks and they were the oldest nation in Europe. For him, the Albanians had “more rights upon the land of Europe than any other nation.” Albania would soon be modernised and integrated into Europe.¹⁶⁵ After the declaration of independence, another Albanian intellectual Faik Bey Konitza (1875–1942) appealed to Ismail Kemal to make Albania a European state like Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium, not an Oriental state like Afghanistan and Tunisia.¹⁶⁶

The International Commission of Control, instituted by the six Great Powers, nominated Prince William of Wied, an officer in the German army, to rule Albania, in November 1913. Upon the arrival of Prince William of Wied at Durres on 7 March, 1914,¹⁶⁷ Ismail Kemal had to resign his office. Interestingly, he verbalized his appreciation to Europe for her confirmation of Albania in her national existence by giving Albanians a ruler that Europe chose herself.¹⁶⁸ Ismail Kemal left Albania on 22 January, 1914, after fourteen months of administration in the provisional government. However, with the beginning of the WWI, Prince Wiliam of Wied left Albania on 5 September, 1914.

Ismail Kemal was in Barcelona during the First World War (1914-1918) and came to Paris in 1917. He dictated his memoirs to William Morton Fullerton and they were

¹⁶¹ Birecikli, “Avlonyalı İsmail Kemal Bey’in Siyasi Faaliyetleri,” 111.

¹⁶² *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 373.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ Adrian Brisku, “internalising Europe: Albanian Perceptions of the Continent in Historical Perspective (1878-2008),” *Source of Educational Media, Memory & Society*, vol. 1, no. 2, Special Issue: *Myths and Maps of Europe* (Autumn 2009), 100.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹⁶⁷ Woods, “Albania and Albanians,” 270.

¹⁶⁸ *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 381.

published in *The Times* of London.¹⁶⁹ In 1920, Sommerville Story published the memoirs as 410-page book in London. *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey* (1920) is the only memoir of an Ottoman intellectual published in English. It was translated into Albanian in 1968 and published in Toronto, Canada; then translated into Italian. A Turkish translation was published in 2009. Feroz Ahmad emphasises that Ismail Kemal built a considerable reputation in Europe by means of his memoirs.¹⁷⁰

Upon the invasion of Albania during WWI, Ismail Kemal wrote a letter in 1918 expressing his wish to go to Rome and then to attend the Peace Conference in Paris. Consequently, he was invited to Italy. According to Ethem Vlora, son of Ismail Kemal, he was poisoned during the media congress in Perugia, Italy and died there on 24 January, 1919.¹⁷¹ Another claim for his death was that he had a heart attack in Perugia.¹⁷²

2. 8. Ethno-nationalist thoughts of Ismail Kemal Bey

Ismail Kemal predicated the Albanian origins on the ‘Pelasg’ race, which was also the origin of the Hellenic civilisation.¹⁷³ The Albanians, to him, proudly preserved their independence despite so many successive conquests, by Romans, Byzantines, Normans, Bulgarians, Serbs, Italians, and Turks. They presented the “singular and interesting spectacle of a nationality preserved pure and undefiled.”¹⁷⁴ Even though Albania had to give up her own government, she never renounced her independence. The Albanians accepted submission in order to preserve their existence.¹⁷⁵

According to the memoirs of Ismail Kemal, many Albanian families tried to find links to noble Anatolian origins as their antecedents, after the conquest of Albania by the Ottomans. However, his ancestor Sinan Pasha was ‘pure’ Albanian and his dynasty served the Ottoman Empire faithfully, while preserving its undefiled Albanian patriotism.¹⁷⁶

To Ismail Kemal, the attachments of the Albanians to the Ottoman Empire were not related to their common religion, Islam, rather to the national interests of the Albanians.¹⁷⁷ The Ottoman Sultans were respectful of Albanian law and customs and left

¹⁶⁹ Alpan, *Arnavutluğun Bağımsızlığı ve Avlonyalı İsmail Kemal*, 47.

¹⁷⁰ Feroz Ahmad, *İttihat ve Terakki 1908-1914*, trans. by Nuran Yavuz, 5th ed. (Istanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1999), 212.

¹⁷¹ Alpan, *Arnavutluğun Bağımsızlığı ve Avlonyalı İsmail Kemal*, 47.

¹⁷² Müfid Şemsi, *Şemsi Paşa, Arnavutluk ve İttihad-Terakki*, ed. by Nezih Galitekin (Istanbul: Nehir Yayınları, 1995), 209.

¹⁷³ *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 355.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 356-357.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 360.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 3, 4.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 362.

Albanian chiefs to administer Albania. A “mutual and sincere confidence was established” between the Ottoman Empire and the Albanians. The most capable leaders occupied the highest civil and military positions in the empire. However, the last fifty years witnessed profound changes to this situation. The death of Grand Vizier Âli Pasha, the harmful and incoherent policy of his successor Mahmud Nedim Pasha, and territorial changes in the Balkans after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-1878 were the first signs of this intense alteration.¹⁷⁸

According to Ismail Kemal, the Albanian people always believed in the impartiality and equality of the liberal governments, especially that of England. The confidence in Britain of the Albanians was shaken by their handing over an Albanian inhabited territory to Montenegro, by the command of William Ewart Gladstone (1809–1898), the British Prime Minister. The Albanians were apprehensive of being abandoned by England rather than losing the territorial integrity of their motherland.¹⁷⁹ This fear ended with the appointment of George Goschen (1831–1907), British Ambassador Extraordinary to Constantinople, and his defence of the rights and interests of the Albanians. All Albanian people were reassured of the real political views of Great Britain by Goschen’s oral assurances given to Abidin Dino (1843–1906), Albanian-origin Minister of Foreign Affairs.¹⁸⁰

2. 9. The character of Ismail Kemal Bey

According to a British Foreign Office report, Ismail Kemal was a bad speaker but a good writer. He was a man of fairly sound ideas. He spoke Albanian, Greek and French fluently.¹⁸¹ Kemal was fearless and independent. To Süreyya Bey, Ismail Kemal had a serious-looking and graceful attitude.¹⁸² He was a capable politician and had a deep knowledge of European diplomacy.¹⁸³

Ismail Kemal Bey was highly criticised for his love of money and his extravagance. Ali Haydar Midhat, son of Midhat Pasha, indicated that Ismail Kemal had a weakness for money. He had ceded a zone of influence, in Albanian territory, to Greeks, Italians and Austrians to get money. He was also getting a salary of 10 000 drachma from the King of Greece.¹⁸⁴ He received money from Zionists, Italians and British, the Khedive of Egypt and even from Abdülhamid II, while denouncing the organizations opposed to the

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, 362, 363.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, 363.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Bülent Özdemir, *İngiliz Istihbarat Raporlarında Fislenen Türkiye* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2008), 59.

¹⁸² Süreyya Bey, *Osmanlı Sonrası Arnavutluk*, 139.

¹⁸³ Ibid, 415.

¹⁸⁴ Ali Haydar Mithat, *Hatıralarım*, 164.

sultan.¹⁸⁵ A British Foreign Office document described him as being imprecise about the money.¹⁸⁶

Süreyya Bey Vlora described his personality as self-centred, self-indulgent and insatiable and said that he liked prodigality.¹⁸⁷ To him, Ismail Kemal never thought of his occupation, family or friends, but rather himself. He always had a struggle to earn and his only goal in this world was to satisfy his eagerness.¹⁸⁸ Süreyya Bey accused Ismail Kemal of labouring for his own well-being and benefit, not for the welfare of Albania.¹⁸⁹

Ismail Kemal was also accused of bribery. *Le Jeune Turc*, a Young Turk organ published in French, claimed that Sir Ernest Cassel, the director of the National Bank bribed Ismail Kemal with an amount of 10 000 pounds to float a loan. Ismail Kemal learned about this from the editor of the paper and he stated in Parliament: "There could not be anyone in that assembly stupid and cowardly enough to have invented such a fable". Thereupon, Member of Parliament Dr. İsmet said that he had inserted that paragraph. Kemal replied: "Then it is you who are the coward". Dr. İsmet retaliated and abused him. Kemal flung him to the door. Then they were separated and Dr. İsmet was removed from the chamber.¹⁹⁰

It was asserted that Ismail Kemal was a free-mason like many Albanian revolutionists.¹⁹¹

Conclusion

Ismail Kemal Bey Vlora established the political stand of the Albanian Nationalist case and today is considered a great hero of the Albanians. He was a liberal and pro-British Ottoman politician who had held many governorships in the Empire, before he fled to Europe in 1900. He primarily struggled for a reformed and autonomous Albania, connected to the Ottoman Empire, then laboured for her independence under the protection of the European Great Powers. In the face of the danger of the disintegration of the Albanian-inhabited territories during the Balkan Wars, he declared the independence of Albania in 1912. Kemal was the head of the newly-founded provisional government of Albania for fourteen months. He died in 1919 in Italy.

¹⁸⁵ Birecikli, "Avlonyalı İsmail Kemal Bey'in Siyasi Faaliyetleri," 98.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, 97.

¹⁸⁷ Süreyya Bey, *Osmanlı Sonrası Arnavutluk*, 139, 141.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, 141.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, 164.

¹⁹⁰ *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 348.

¹⁹¹ Alpan, *Arnavutluğun Bağımsızlığı*, 41; Birecikli, "Avlonyalı İsmail Kemal Bey'in Siyasi Faaliyetleri," 98.

CHAPTER 3.

The Pro-British Young Turks

Introduction

The previous chapter examined the political and intellectual activities of Ismail Kemal. Throughout his life, Kemal was an Anglophile and had close affiliations with Great Britain. In this sense, he was one of the prominent figures among the pro-British Young Turks. As a member of the pro-British group, Kemal sought to get the British to intervene in the empire's internal affairs, including in the form of a coup against the 'despotic' Ottoman Sultan, Abdülhamid II, and make a declaration of constitutionalism.

The concept of *Genç Türkler* or 'Young Turks' is used to describe different groups in opposition to the Ottoman government, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. However, the most outstanding group consisted of the political forces that arose after 1878, with the shelving of the Constitution (*Meclis-i Mebusan*) by Abdülhamid II.¹⁹² The main target of the Young Turks was to save the Ottoman Empire from dismemberment. This would be possible with a system of government including liberty and justice for any nation wanting to split from the empire. There was no single ideology or *Weltanschauung* that united the Young Turks. The common ground was their belief that the Hamidian regime was responsible for the acute predicament of the Ottoman Empire. Dethronement of Abdülhamid II was the *sine qua non* of the Young Turks plans. This was the only way to salvage the empire. They did not want to establish a republican administration, but desired the end of the despotic and unjust rule of Abdülhamid II. They wanted an empire with a constitutional monarchy. "To side against Yıldız Palace was respected as a national mission in the eyes of many intellectuals," as Ahmed Bedevi Kuran, the author and politician (1886-1966) put it.¹⁹³ The Young Turks assumed that the pressure of the Great Powers would disappear entirely with a constitutional government in the empire.¹⁹⁴ Versions of constitutionalism had developed over the past century or so among the Great Powers. This form of government became for them the benchmark of civilised rule. The empire, therefore, was outside the realm of civilised or good government. The way to change this was to change the way the existing monarchy governed. The Young Turk movement began as a small, amorphous group that aimed to create a larger intellectual elite, in order, eventually, to administer a reformed Ottoman Empire. They neither

¹⁹² M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, "Jön Türkler," in *DİA*, vol. 23 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2001), 586.

¹⁹³ Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İnkılap Hareketleri ve Milli Mücadele*, 216.

¹⁹⁴ Mahmut Bolat, "1876-1914 Arası Osmanlı Devleti Dış Politikasının Genel Bir Değerlendirmesi," *Ahi Evran Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2014), 23.

wanted the masses to be involved in policy-making nor play a role in the administration of the empire¹⁹⁵.

In this chapter, the focus is on the foundation of the Young Turk organ, the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). Admiration for Britain of the Young Turks and Ismail Kemal, and also the intellectual activities of the Young Turks with Ismail Kemal in Europe, is explored. The shift in British policy and British public opinion towards the Ottomans is also discussed.

3. 1. Origin of the Young Turks

The founders of the Young Turks were mostly highly educated men, who were influenced by then popular ideas originating in Europe, such as biological materialism and positivism. They asserted that religion inhibited social development and aspired to replace religion with science.¹⁹⁶

The Young Turks founded some organizations and published periodicals, newspapers and humour magazines to criticise the oppressive regime of Abdülhamid II. Their efforts were individual until the foundation of the *İttihad-ı Osmani Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Union Society) on 2 June, 1889. It was founded by four students; İbrahim Temo, İshak Sükuti, Abdullah Cevdet, Mehmed Reşid at the Royal Medical Academy. Especially after this date, the movement became a student movement, in particular for students in higher education in Istanbul¹⁹⁷. Its name changed later to the *Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki* (The Ottoman Committee of Union and Progress) with the participation of Ahmed Rıza, who was an outstanding antagonist of Abdülhamid II.

It was thought that the leader of the Young Turks would have been Ismail Kemal.¹⁹⁸ However, it was known that he was fostering an ethnic nationalism in a province of the empire. He was developing into a proponent of nascent Albanian nationalism. Thus, his political work was at odds with the Young Turks' aim to preserve the empire, but on a reformed basis. British newspapers, however, portrayed him as an important leader of the Young Turks.¹⁹⁹ Ismail Kemal was never fully involved with the CUP.²⁰⁰ Ali Haydar Midhat, son of Midhat Pasha the Grand Vizier, mentions in his memoirs that Ismail Kemal was, "occupied with overthrowing absolutism, intellectually and efficaciously, and introducing a contemporary, righteous and legitimate administration".²⁰¹ For Ismail

¹⁹⁵ Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 214.

¹⁹⁶ Hanioglu, "Jön Türkler," 587.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, 586.

¹⁹⁸ Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük (1889-1902)*, 366.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 365.

²⁰⁰ Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 74.

²⁰¹ Ali Haydar Mithat, *Hatıralarım 1872-1946*, 164.

Kemal, the *Tanzimat Fermanı* (Imperial Edict of Reorganization) of 1839 put an end the Middle Ages of the empire²⁰².

3. 2. The pro-British bias of the Young Turks

Except for the Young Turks branch in Paris, one of the main characteristics of the Young Turks was its Anglophilia. The movement became a ‘crusade’ driven by the pro-British group in mid-1900. They wanted to dominate the Young Turks movement.²⁰³ It can be seen in the writings of the Young Turks in Geneva, Switzerland that being on the side of the Ottoman Sultan meant to be an opponent of the British. Conversely, being a Young Turk was to be a proponent of the British in contemporary politics.²⁰⁴ This is because, Great Britain had supported the Ottoman Empire against Russia in Crimean War and she had supported young Ottomans for the declaration of the First Constitutional Monarchy in 1876.²⁰⁵ They set their sights on establishing a pro-British administration, instead of the pro-German management of Abdülhamid II.²⁰⁶

The pro-British Young Turks regarded Britain as a traditional friend of the Ottoman Empire and sought her assistance in order to prevent the dissolution of the empire. The pro-British group defended the idea of European interference in Ottoman internal affairs to make reforms in the empire. For instance, according to Mizancı Murad, the European intervention was “the lesser of two evils” in the case of dividing the empire. The threat of the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire would not be possible so long as Europe assisted in the reforms.²⁰⁷

Furthermore, according to a report dated 19 July, 1911 sent from Charles M. Marling, the British Ambassador to Constantinople, a letter defending the Young Turks’ administration was published in *The Times*. This letter received ‘considerable attention’ and most local newspapers in Constantinople dedicated articles to it. Some of them used the opportunity to express their hope of England taking a more active interest in Balkan affairs. Furthermore, the Turkish people had faith that Great Britain was a ‘traditional friend’ of Turkey and could prevent a serious aftermath of the rebellions.²⁰⁸

²⁰² Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük (1889-1902)*, 37.

²⁰³ Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 146, 147.

²⁰⁴ Suat Parlar, *Bayraksız İstila: Askeri Modernleşme Yoluyla Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Ordu* (İstanbul: Bağdat, 2007), 684.

²⁰⁵ Süleyman Kocabaş, *Kendi İtirafı ile Jön Türkler Nerede Yanıldı? 1890-1918 Hayaller... Komplolar ... Kayıplar...*, (İstanbul: Vatan Yayınları, 1991), 138.

²⁰⁶ Bolat, “1876-1914 Arası Osmanlı Devleti,” 23.

²⁰⁷ Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri*, 100.

²⁰⁸ Charles M. Marling to Edward Grey, The National Archives, Kew (hereafter ‘TNA’), FO, no. 508.

However, the Ottoman Sultan, Abdülhamid II (reign 1876–1909) asserted, according to his memoirs, that the British manipulated the Young Turk organization in Selanik (Thessaloniki). In his opinion, they urged the Young Turks continually to launch a *coup d'état* against him.²⁰⁹ In the eyes of Abdülhamid II, Great Britain was a state, which constantly dethroned the Ottoman sultans.²¹⁰

3. 3. British diplomacy and public opinion towards the Ottoman Empire

The pro-British group and Ismail Kemal sought British intervention in Ottoman politics. However, British public opinion towards the 'Eastern Question' was changing. For the British Empire, the existence of the Ottoman Empire was important for the balance of power in Europe. The Ottoman Empire was holding the strategic routes to the eastern Mediterranean and India. Therefore, protecting the integrity of that empire seemed crucial for the British policy-makers during the nineteenth century.²¹¹ Besides this, the idea of Ottoman progress with European support was one of the key policies of Great Britain before the concept of *realpolitik* predominated in Europe.²¹² The Ottoman Empire would be a buffer between Great Britain and Russia, which was a great rival of Britain at that time.²¹³ British statesmen made a tremendous effort to 'reform' the empire. Nevertheless, British public opinion lost faith in the reformation of the empire with the revolt of Christians in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1875; the rebellion in Bulgaria in 1876; the great defeat of the Turks in the 1878 Russo-Ottoman War; the Congress of Berlin in 1878; the clashes between Armenians and Muslims in Istanbul in 1896.²¹⁴ British strategy then focused on how to divide the empire after these breaking points.²¹⁵ European public opinion, particularly British, had evolved from pro-Turkish to anti-Turkish by 1876, largely as a result of the Armenian and Bulgarian events.²¹⁶ British public opinion turned against the Turks with the enormous propaganda of Radical-Liberal circles during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II.²¹⁷ For instance, Dr Humphry Sandwith, an Englishman who spoke Turkish, mentioned the Ottoman Armenians negatively in his book about the Crimean War, in 1856. On the other hand, in his article published in 1878 he demonstrated an extremely anti-Turkish position.²¹⁸

²⁰⁹ Küreli, "1908-1914 Yılları Arasında Osmanlı'da Hükümet Darbeleri ve Sonuçları," 22.

²¹⁰ M. Metin Hülagü, "Bir İnsan Olarak Sultan II. Abdülhamid," in *Devr-i Hamid Sultan II. Abdülhamid*, vol. 3 (Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011), 225.

²¹¹ Nazan Çiçek, "The Turkish Response to Bulgarian Horrors: A Study in English Turcophobia," *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 42, no. 1 (January 2006), 87.

²¹² Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri*, 101.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Çiçek, "The Turkish Response to Bulgarian Horrors: A Study in English Turcophobia," 87

²¹⁵ Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri*, 101.

²¹⁶ Candan Badem, *The Ottoman Crimean War (1853-1856)* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 408.

²¹⁷ Çiçek, "The Turkish Response to Bulgarian Horrors," 87.

²¹⁸ Badem, *The Ottoman Crimean War*, 407.

The Gladstone government came to power in 1868. William Ewart Gladstone pursued an antagonistic policy to the Ottoman Empire. Gladstone wrote his *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* during the Serbo-Turkish War in 1876. In this pamphlet, he denigrated Turks as “the one great anti-human specimen of humanity”. According to Gladstone, the Turkish race destroyed civilisation.²¹⁹ The British Prime Ministers of the Victorian era, William Ewart Gladstone, the Earl of Rosebery and the Marquess of Salisbury, thought that an intervention in Ottoman politics was unrealistic.²²⁰

The Young Turks could not understand this reversal of public opinion on the part of the British. It is possible that, since the vast majority of the Young Turks did not know English, they could not follow publications in Great Britain.²²¹

3. 4. Anglophilia of Ismail Kemal

Throughout his life, Ismail Kemal was an Anglophile, and had close relationships with persons in Great Britain. Therefore, he wanted to benefit from the assistance of these affiliations, initially for the coup against Abdülhamid II and then for the founding of Albania. Ismail Kemal went to London upon the death of Queen Victoria to take part in her funeral in 1901.²²² A British newspaper said that he was saddened by the death of English Queen Victoria more than her citizens themselves. Ismail Kemal remarked that the Ottomans shared the sorrow.²²³

Sir Philip Currie, British Ambassador to Constantinople, reported that Ismail Kemal was a partisan of England and “defended British interests at the Palace on many occasions”.²²⁴ In many interviews with Ismail Kemal and memoranda given to British authorities, Kemal advocated British support for the reforms in the Ottoman Empire. He had some relationships with the British authorities as early as 1892.²²⁵ He said in an interview with C. M. Hallward, British Consul in Beirut, that he supported British policy toward

²¹⁹ “Let me endeavour very briefly to sketch, in the rudest outline, what the Turkish race was and what it is. It is not a question of Mahometanism simply, but of Mahometanism compounded with the peculiar character of a race. They are not the mild Mahometans of India, nor the chivalrous Saladins of Syria, nor the cultured Moors of Spain. They were, upon the whole, from the black day when they first entered the Europe, the one great anti-human specimen of humanity. Wherever they went, a broad line of blood marked the track behind them; and, as far as their dominion reached, civilisation disappeared from view.” William Ewart Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* (London: John Murray, 1876), 12, 13.

²²⁰ Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 171.

²²¹ Kocabaş, *Kendi İtirafı ile Jön Türkler Nerede Yanıldı? 1890-1918 Hayaller... Komplolar ... Kayıplar...*, 143.

²²² *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 303.

²²³ Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük (1889-1902)*, 365.

²²⁴ Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 64.

²²⁵ Ibid.

Egypt.²²⁶ In a memorandum on Ismail Kemal, Sir Philip Currie describes the author as “one of the few Turks [Muslims] who ventures to advocate a change in the present system of government and who has persistently advised the sultan to follow the counsels of England”.²²⁷

Through the support of Sir Phillip Currie, the periodical called *Mecra-yı Efkar* (The Course of Ideas) was published by Ismail Kemal in Plovdiv, present Bulgaria. It was smuggled into Constantinople. Thereupon, Abdülhamid II wanted him to stop the paper, yet he did not. According to the historian Hanioglu, the Sultan refrained from arresting him, because of the British support given to him. He, nevertheless, could not achieve his dreams due to the lack of foreign interference in Ottoman politics.²²⁸

Ismail Kemal had great admiration for the Anglophile protagonist Midhat Pasha (1822–1884).²²⁹ He was a pupil of Midhat Pasha and part of the Pasha’s public and private entourage.²³⁰ Therefore, Ismail Kemal was very dependent on Midhat Pasha, but this dependency was based on love and respect. Ismail Kemal expressed his respect for Midhat Pasha in some newspapers published in Istanbul.²³¹ There is a reason to believe that Ismail Kemal supported constitutionalism as a show of his admiration for Midhat Pasha rather than Ismail Kemal’s own conviction, as Mizancı Murad has put it.²³²

Ismail Kemal Bey frequently visited the British ambassador Sir Nicholas O’Connor (1843–1908) in the 1890s, in order to get assistance for constitutional government in the Ottoman Empire.²³³ On one of his visits, the British ambassador told him that Turks do not need constitutionalism. Ismail Kemal stated Turks would sacrifice their lives for the first constitution of the Ottoman Empire ‘*Kanun-u Esasi*’ (the Ottoman Basic Law). O’Connor’s and Ismail Kemal’s views of the need for constitutionalism thus were not allied. However, O’Connor indicated the British would assist in such a change if the support were strong enough.²³⁴

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Ibid, 67.

²²⁹ Ahmet Şefik Midhat Paşa was a prominent Ottoman statesman who became Grand Vizier and Governor of the Danube region, Nis, Baghdad, Aydın and Syria. He was the pioneering leader of the Ottoman Constitutional movement of 1876 (*Kanun-i Esasi*) bringing in the First Constitutional Era. He was known for his liberal opinions and missions.

²³⁰ *Mizancı Murad Bey’in II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Hatıraları*, 77; Avlonyalı Süreyya Bey, *Osmanlı Sonrası Arnavutluk (1912-1920)*, 22.

²³¹ Birecikli, “Avlonyalı İsmail Kemal Bey’in Siyasi Faaliyetleri (1870-1908),” 99.

²³² *Mizancı Murad Bey’in II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Hatıraları*, 77.

²³³ Ali Şükrü Çoruk, “İngiliz Ordusunda Savaşmak İsteyen Servet-i Fünûncular,” *Mostar*, no. 73 (March 2011).

²³⁴ Ertan Engin, “Anılardaki Fikret,” *Turkish Studies*, vol. 2/3 (Summer 2007), 241.

Another strategy Kemal pursued to achieve constitutional reform was to appeal directly to the Sultan. This happened in response to unrest in Crete. Ismail Kemal wrote a memorandum to Abdülhamid II proposing administrative reforms in the empire, in February, 1897.²³⁵ He stated: “The bad administration ruling in the provinces brings discredit on the authority of the Throne and ruin on your subjects of all classes.”²³⁶ After mentioning the necessity of “serious and general reforms instead of special reforms which were going to be imposed on” the subjects of empire, Ismail Kemal suggested that the Sultan “immediately convoke a constituent assembly of the representatives of the people of capital and provinces.”²³⁷ When these modifications are adopted, the new charter can receive the approval of Your Majesty and be promulgated by a special *Hatt* [Imperial Edict].²³⁸

This memorandum was published in *Le Temps* on 8 April, 1897 after being smuggled to Europe by Ismail Kemal and its summary was also published by *The Times*. The CUP in Geneva published a Turkish translation of the memorandum.²³⁹ The prime target of Ismail Kemal was not to persuade the sultan to make reforms; nevertheless he wanted to enable European intervention in Ottoman domestic affairs, at that time critical.²⁴⁰

3. 5. Escape of Ismail Kemal Bey to Europe

While Ismail Kemal was naïve in his views, he was successful, to some extent, in securing British support. He was able to persuade the British Embassy in Constantinople to give him political protection on 25 January, 1898, in the event that his life was threatened.²⁴¹ He remained in Istanbul but was under their diplomatic protection. Following the demonstration at the British consulate the Sultan effectively exiled Ismail Kemal by assigning him to the governorship of Tripoli but he, of course, did not take the position.²⁴² It was all the Sultan could do to Ismail Kemal, as the Sultan was aware that arresting or exiling Ismail Kemal would spark protection from the British Embassy.²⁴³

²³⁵ Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 65. See translation of this memorandum in English in *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 387-397. “Trablusgarb Vali-i Esbaki Ismail Kemal Bey tarafından Atabe-i Ulya-yi Padişahi’ye Takdim Olunan Layiha Suretidir.” (Geneva, 1314 [1897]). There is also a version translated into Arabic by Syrians residing in New York. See “La’iha Isma’il Kamal Bey,” *al-Ayyam*, no. 29 (January 20, 1898), 4, 5, and no. 30 (January 27, 1898), 4,5.

²³⁶ *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 387.

²³⁷ *Ibid*, 388.

²³⁸ *Ibid*, 397.

²³⁹ Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 65.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 66.

²⁴¹ *Ibid*.

²⁴² Tripoli was the one of the farthest provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Indigenous people were living there. Transportation to Istanbul was only by sea and there were just few ferry services. There was neither provocative newspaper nor seditious friends. İhsan Burak Birecikli, “Sultan II. Abdülhamide Karşı Başarısız Bir Darbe Teşebbüsü,” *Batman University Journal of Life Sciences*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2012), 685.

²⁴³ Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 147.

However, Ismail Kemal perceived this as a true exile. Therefore, he boarded the British ambassador's yacht and claimed asylum with his three sons on 1 May, 1900. Upon Ismail Kemal's escape, Abdülhamid II told Adam Block, the translator for the British Embassy in Constantinople, that if Ismail Kemal wanted "to leave the country he was free to do so ... if that was his object he could have gone like anyone else by train or by steamer or by caique or by horse; there was never any necessity for concealment."²⁴⁴

Actually, the Sultan had originally endeavoured to send Ismail Kemal to Tripoli as early as in 1895. However, since there was strong French opposition for an Anglophile governor next to Tunis, Abdülhamid held off on this idea.²⁴⁵

Nonetheless, Ismail Kemal's appointment as Governor in Tripoli was regarded as "being practically tantamount to exile" by the British press as well.²⁴⁶ At that time, Sir Philip Currie, the British Ambassador to Constantinople, remarked that the Sultan made the decision because of Kemal's support for the British.²⁴⁷ After Ismail Kemal's escape, the central media organ of the Young Turks telegraphed Sir Nicholas. They thanked the 'freedom-loving' British government for the rescue of Ismail Kemal Bey from the claws of despotism.²⁴⁸ British media covered the attitude of the pro- British Young Turks as: "the Ambassador's action causes intense satisfaction in Turkish circles".²⁴⁹

Meanwhile, just before Ismail Kemal's escape with his sons, Damad Mahmud Pasha -the former minister of justice, ambassador, and brother-in-law of Abdülhamid II- fled to Europe with his two sons. These two crucial escapes were a great blow to the Sultan and their flights revitalized the opposition movement.²⁵⁰ *The New York Times* noted the importance of the exile of the two for Abdülhamid II; "flight of Ismail is hardly less important than that of Mahmoud Pasha, the Sultan's brother-in-law who disappeared from Constantinople Dec. 14 last, and it is considered another symptom of the state of affairs in Turkey."²⁵¹

According to an article in a British newspaper, published after Ismail Kemal's escape to Britain, Ismail Kemal Bey was "an upright, enlightened, and educated man". Ismail

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Ibid, 64, 147.

²⁴⁶ "Flight of a Governor," *London Evening Standard*, 02 May 1900.

²⁴⁷ Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 64.

²⁴⁸ Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük (1889-1902)*, 353.

²⁴⁹ "The British Ambassador and the Escape of Ismail Kemal Bey," *Derby Daily Telegraph*, 03 May 1900.

²⁵⁰ Erdem Sönmez, "Revisiting Dominant Paradigm on a Young Turk Leader," in *War & Collapse: World War I and the Ottoman State*, ed. by M. Hakan Yavuz and Feroz Ahmed (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2016), 205.

²⁵¹ "A Turk Disappears: Ismail Kemal Bey, Newly Appointed Official, Takes To Flight," *The New York Times*, 02 May 1900.

Kemal was not a revolutionist but a royalist, but nevertheless “the Sultan took offence at his outspoken advocacy of administrative reforms.”²⁵² Another newspaper specifies Ismail Kemal as ‘patriotic’ and “his resolution to leave the country is regarded as clearly indicating that he considers the present state of affairs to be such as to render it impossible for men of enlightened views to remain in Turkey.”²⁵³ It is doubtful that the British newspapers had any understanding of Ismail Kemal’s reputation in the empire. However, Ismail Kemal’s opposition to the Sultan suited the British view.

According to Ismail Kemal, his intention to write *Transvaal Meselesi* was to clarify the causes of his escape from Constantinople. Besides, Ismail Kemal remarked that he desired to “set forth the feeling of the Mussulman world with regard to the civilising work of Great Britain”.²⁵⁴

Pro-British statesmen were the first to give support to the Young Turk movement. Damad Mahmud Pasha, the brother-in-law of Abdülhamid II, and the CUP branch in Geneva sent dispatches to Sir Nicholas O’Connor and, with Ismail Kemal this pro-British group launched a diplomatic campaign against the Ottoman Sultan, Abdülhamid II.²⁵⁵ They desired British support in dethroning the Hamidian regime.²⁵⁶ Yahya Kemal (1884–1958), poet, author and politician noted in his memoirs that; “the followers of Ismail Kemal and Sabahaddin regarded demanding foreign intervention to end the Hamidian rule as a civilised action.”²⁵⁷

Prince Sabahaddin and Lütfullah, sons of Damad Mahmud Pasha, wrote an open letter to Abdülhamid II criticising the rule of the Sultan and proposing closer relations with England.²⁵⁸ Other pro-British members also sent letters to British diplomats and published letters praising the British. However, the British government did not respond to these approaches of the Young Turks. Ismail Kemal’s request for British citizenship was also rejected, despite the fact that Ismail Kemal was highly exalted by the British press.²⁵⁹

The Young Turk movement became an issue of European diplomacy after the escape of Damad Mahmud Pasha, Ismail Kemal and other prominent Ottoman statesmen.²⁶⁰ British diplomats were concerned about the intrigues of some pro-British Ottoman statesmen like

²⁵² “The British Ambassador and the Escape of Ismail Kemal Bey,” *Derby Daily Telegraph*, 03 May 1900.

²⁵³ “The Flight of Ismail Kemal Bey,” *Pall Mall Gazette*, 2 May 1900.

²⁵⁴ Hanioglu, *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902-1908*, 301-303.

²⁵⁵ Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 147.

²⁵⁶ Sönmez, “Revisiting Dominant Paradigm on a Young Turk Leader,” 205.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 208.

²⁵⁸ Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 147.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 149.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 214.

Ismail Kemal. However, Britain did not openly support the CUP except for the abortive *coup* attempt of 1902-1903.²⁶¹

The Criminal Court of Istanbul sentenced Ismail Kemal to death by warrant in absentia, forfeiture of property and loss of civil rights in June 1901. He was charged with “endeavouring to incite the people against the Government and the Sultan by seditious publications and other means”.²⁶² In the court decision it was stated that some Young Turks with Ismail Kemal insisted on not coming back to the empire, although notifications were sent to them. Besides, they dared to publish the controversial publications.²⁶³

3. 6. 1902 Young Turk Congress of Paris

Prince Sabahaddin and Lütfullah decided to host a congress in Europe to deliberate on the situation of the Ottoman Empire. The purpose of the congress was to force Abdülhamid II to declare a constitutional monarchy and make reforms in the empire. Thus, the Ottoman Empire would survive. Lütfullah went to Brussels from Paris to discuss such a congress with Ismail Kemal. The latter wanted to attend the congress but on certain conditions. Firstly, Ismail Kemal demanded representation for all the ethnicities in the Ottoman Empire. In this way, the aspirations of the Ottoman people might be voiced.²⁶⁴ He also said that the congress ought to demonstrate to the Great Powers such as France, Great Britain and Austria that the reforms would be implemented for the ‘good of the empire’.²⁶⁵ Thus, the assistance of Europe could be provided. Otherwise there would be no reason to participate in the congress. Kemal indicated that if those conditions were not met, he could not see any benefit, but only expressions of opinions in vain.

The conditions set by Ismail Kemal to attend the congress were accepted by Prince Sabahaddin and Lütfullah, and then he went to Paris for the congress.²⁶⁶ Ismail Kemal published some letters supporting European intervention in the empire on the eve of the congress.²⁶⁷ Because of this, great antagonism appeared against him during the congress. For instance, upon Ismail Kemal’s letter being published in *Le Matin*, Ahmed Ferid wrote a letter to him, sarcastically calling him “benevolently disposed”. In his letter Ferid asserted, being under the protection of the ‘great enemies’ of the Ottoman Empire was

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² “The Case of Ismail Kemal Bey,” *Nottingham Evening Post*, 17 June 1901.

²⁶³ “Avrupa’ya firar edip kendilerine tebligat vuku bulduğu halde avdet etmemekte ısrar ile neşriyatı fesatcuyaneye ictisar etmelerinden dolayı mahkeme-i cinayetçe gıyaben muhakemeleri bilicra hükümleri ifa kılınan eşhasın...” Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İnkılap Hareketleri ve Milli Mücadele*, 330, 331.

²⁶⁴ *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 306.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Ibid, 187.

not an ‘honour’, but a ‘disgrace’. Ahmed Ferid accused Ismail Kemal of speaking for all the Ottoman nations without distinguishing their ethnicity and religion. Ferid expressed his disagreement with Ismail Kemal on the intervention of the Great Powers in Ottoman politics.²⁶⁸

Moreover, in *Şuray-ı Ümmet*, an Ottoman journal, it was declared that when a foreign power interfered with Ottoman affairs, a territory of the Ottoman Empire was lost. In fact, the foreign affairs of the western powers were based on hypocrisy and trick. No-one in the west paid attention the screams of the Boers, Finn and Polish people.²⁶⁹

The divergence between the Young Turk groups’ views was made visible in the Congress of Paris, named *Osmanlı Hürriyetperveran Kongresi* (Ottoman Freedom-lovers Congress). One group, which was in the majority (*ekseriyet*), advocated foreign intervention in favour of a *coup d’état*. The majority group, including Ismail Kemal and Prince Sabahaddin, demanded that a Great Power should intervene in the operation during the *coup*. They asserted that during the rebellion, disorder might occur in the empire and some ‘malevolent’ states such as Russia might manipulate the disorder.²⁷⁰ In order to prevent this probability, the Young Turks were supposed to get assistance from a state whose interest coincided with the Ottoman Empire -presumably they meant Great Britain or France-.²⁷¹ Prince Sabahaddin wrote in *Osmanlı* shortly after the Congress of Paris that the Constitution was their noble wish and the European intervention would emerge unavoidably.²⁷² The majority advocated *adem-i merkeziyet* (decentralization) in which all the different ethnicities in the empire would establish autonomous local governments. The majority group also demanded a mutiny in the empire by the military forces.²⁷³ According to Ismail Kemal, it was not possible to make a revolution only by propaganda and press, which the minority wished for.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁸ “To occupy the post of the grand-vizierate under the protection of foreign authorities who are our great enemies is not an honour but a disgrace. I read the letter which you sent to [*Le*] *Matin* on behalf of all easterners and every Ottoman regardless of their ethnicity and religion. I want to learn upon what [authority] you have been authorized the expression of your ideas and your promise of support given on behalf of the entire populace. For instance, I am an Ottoman too but in no way do I share Your Excellency’s ideas. I assumed that there are probably others sharing my ideas among the Ottomans. Or maybe Ottomanism extends only to the Albanian committee and I am unaware of this fact. I find it unnecessary to prove the baseness and senselessness of the praise which you made in order to impress them [the Great Powers] in your above-mentioned letter. The history of Poland, the affairs of Crimea lie before us.... We want to undertake our own reform without the intervention by the deceitful and usurping hand of Europe.” Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 187.

²⁶⁹ Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri*, 265, 266.

²⁷⁰ Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İnkılap Hareketleri ve Milli Mücadele*, 349.

²⁷¹ Yazıcı, “Osmanlı’da Siyasi Muhalefetin Kurumsallaşma Süreci (1902-1909),” 127.

²⁷² Sönmez, “Revisiting Dominant Paradigm on a Young Turk Leader,” 208.

²⁷³ Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İnkılap Hareketleri ve Milli Mücadele*, 353.

²⁷⁴ Sönmez, “Revisiting Dominant Paradigm on a Young Turk Leader,” 208, 209.

However, the other group, led by Ahmet Rıza Bey, did not want foreign intervention under any circumstances. The minority (*ekalliyet*) and anti-intervention group insisted that the revolution should be carried out by the Ottoman peoples.²⁷⁵ This group defended a centralist government. Ahmet Rıza regarded Ismail Kemal as someone capitulating to the imperialist ambitions of the Great Powers.²⁷⁶ To Yahya Kemal, the actual conflict at the congress was between Ismail Kemal and Ahmed Rıza.²⁷⁷

In this regard, the attempts of Ismail Kemal and the pro-British group he conducted with Prince Sabahaddin to achieve the support of Europe yet again, seems quite immature and misrepresented. A great antipathy to Ismail Kemal was generated during the Young Turk Congress in Paris. The Congress in 1902, assembled to express and resolve the problems of the Ottoman Empire, eventually led to a great conflict between the Young Turk groups.

3. 7. *Coup d'état* attempt of 1903

The pro-intervention group founded a committee called *Osmanlı Hürriyetperveran Cemiyeti* or *La Ligue des Liberaux Ottomans* (Ottoman Freedom-lovers Committee). Ismail Kemal became the leader of the committee. In 1903, they attempted an unsuccessful *coup* with British support.²⁷⁸ He wrote in his memoirs in detail about his activities attempting to arouse the interest of Europe. According to Ismail Kemal, the Sultan would be forced to compromise in favour of constitutionalism if Kemal could guarantee the 'sympathetic support' of Europe, especially Great Britain.²⁷⁹

Ismail Kemal reported on making contact with and getting assistance from British statesmen. Kemal said that he was invited by Lord Sanderson, Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to negotiate the *coup* plan of *Osmanlı Hürriyetperveran Cemiyeti*.²⁸⁰ Ismail Kemal also noted that he asked for British protection in case of any threat from Russia to prevent their 'patriotic action'.²⁸¹ Ismail Kemal Bey obtained the British foreign secretary's promise of assistance for the rebellion. A fleet would be sent to Beshika, Çanakkale in order to safeguard the Ottoman Empire against a potential Russian threat.²⁸² Great Britain also advised him to cut the Odessa and Constance parts of the Eastern Telegraph cable.²⁸³ Since some privileges like the Baghdad Railway Project

²⁷⁵ Yazıcı, "Osmanlı'da Siyasi Muhalefetin Kurumsallaşma Süreci," 127.

²⁷⁶ Hanoğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 158.

²⁷⁷ Sönmez, "Revisiting Dominant Paradigm on a Young Turk Leader," 208.

²⁷⁸ Ibid, 214.

²⁷⁹ *The Memories of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 309.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Ibid, 310.

²⁸² Hanoğlu, *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902-1908*, 19.

²⁸³ Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İnkılap Hareketleri ve Milli Mücadele*, 156.

were given to Germany at that time, it must be considered that Great Britain favoured the coup attempt against Abdülhamid II, because Britain was endeavouring to hinder the railway scheme, starting in late 1902.²⁸⁴

Despite uncertainty of the support to be given to the Young Turks, it was the first time the Young Turks in exile secured British support.²⁸⁵ There is no official document in the British archives about the support given to the Young Turks.²⁸⁶ However, masses of Lord Lansdowne's papers (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1900-1905) are kept by his family.²⁸⁷ It nevertheless sounds credible that Great Britain might play a part in the counter-revolution, since England strove to take the Baghdad Railway Project. Damad Mahmud Pasha tried to persuade Abdülhamid II to award the project to Great Britain but Abdülhamid II awarded it to Germany. Thereupon, Damad Mahmud Pasha escaped to Europe with his sons, Sabahaddin and Lütfullah.

Conclusion

The Young Turks were a group of intellectuals from different spheres of the Ottoman Empire. Their main target was to salvage their weakening empire from dissolution. They had different ideas and beliefs. However, the major effective group was the pro-British Young Turks, which advocated British intervention in Ottoman politics.

Anglophile Young Turks regarded the British as the greatest, most powerful and crucial supporters of the Turks in the industrialized and formidable west. The pro-British Young Turks and one of the well-known Anglophile statesmen, Ismail Kemal, used every means possible to provide British intervention in Ottoman politics.

Nonetheless, their attempts to secure the British support for the empire seemed quite immature and naïve. They confronted and collided, especially with the Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid II in this regard. Many Young Turks and Ottoman statesmen such as Ismail Kemal and Damad Mahmud Pasha, the brother-in-law of Abdülhamid II, fled to 'liberal' Europe from the oppressive and 'unjust' administration of Abdülhamid II. In 1902, the Young Turks in Europe gathered a congress in Paris to discuss the bad situation of the Ottoman Empire. However, the congress led to great conflict and division within the Young Turks of the pro-intervention and anti-intervention groups. The pro-intervention group, led by Ismail Kemal and Prince Sabahaddin, undertook a fruitless *coup* attempt with British support. On the other hand, British public opinion towards Turkey had shifted. Britain pursued an anti-Turkish policy, especially after 1878, which the Young Turks neglected or failed to recognise.

²⁸⁴ Hanioglu, *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902-1908*, 25.

²⁸⁵ Ibid, 23, 26.

²⁸⁶ Ibid, 24.

²⁸⁷ Ibid, 332.

CHAPTER 4.

The South African War and the standpoint of the pro-British Young Turks towards the war

Introduction

Dwindle, dwindle, little war,

How I wonder more and more,

As about the veld you hop,

When you really mean to stop.²⁸⁸

It should be clear from the last chapter that the biggest and most influential group among the Ottoman intelligentsia was the pro-British Young Turks, of which Ismail Kemal of Vlora was a leader. This group of intellectuals tried their utmost to get the British to influence Ottoman politics. Presumably it was an effort to ingratiate themselves with England. They pushed pro-British propaganda in their publications, particularly on the South African War of 1899-1902.

The South African War emerged between the mighty British Empire and two small Afrikaner states: The South African Republic and Orange Free State. It was a result of the struggle between republican Boers and the imperial ambitions of the British Empire. The South African War, which lasted from 11 October, 1899 to 31 May, 1902, drew more international attention than any other event in the history of South Africa up to that point.²⁸⁹ It can be regarded as the first 'freedom struggle' of the twentieth century in Africa.²⁹⁰ It was also the greatest war in the European scramble for Africa and an example of the modern African colonial struggle.²⁹¹ The South African War -the longest, the costliest, the bloodiest and the most humiliating war for Britain between 1815 and 1914- was the first of the twentieth century's anti-colonial, guerilla wars.²⁹²

The war had a huge international impact. Europeans regarded the struggle as a heroic challenge of a small, white, Christian state to a blustering imperial power.²⁹³ The so-

²⁸⁸ Hector Munro, *The Westminster Alice* (London, 1902), Bill Nasson, *The War for South Africa* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2010).

²⁸⁹ Iain R. Smith, *The Origins of the South African War, 1899-1902* (New York: Longman, 1996), x.

²⁹⁰ Andre Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1889-1902: White Man's War, Black Man's War, Traumatic War* (Bloemfontein: Sun Press, 2011), 137.

²⁹¹ Smith, *The Origins of the South African War, 1899-1902*, 1; Nasson, *The War for South Africa*, 27.

²⁹² Thomas Pakenham, *The Boer War* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1979), xv; Smith, *The Origins of the South African War, 1899-1902*, 3.

²⁹³ Nasson, *The War for South Africa*, 27.

called ‘Anglo-Boer War’ or ‘the War of Independence’ to the Boers, made a considerable impact on the Ottoman Empire even though the empire was geographically so far from South Africa. This topic was widely covered and important to the Ottoman press. The Washington military *attaché*, Major Aziz Bey, was stationed in the British camp in the Transvaal to monitor the war, at the request of the Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid II.

This chapter examines the reasons behind the South African War as well as its outcome, which was pursued by the world’s press with interest. Particular attention is given to the stance of Ottoman public opinion and the attitudes of the pro-British Young Turks.

4. 1. Origins of the Anglo-Boer conflict

European immigrant settlement started in South Africa after Jan Van Riebeeck, a Dutch colonial administrator and sailor, established a ships’ supply station in the name of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652. Subsequently, Great Britain annexed the Cape in 1806 during the Napoleonic Wars, since the Cape of Good Hope had geopolitical significance for Britain on her route to India and the Far East.²⁹⁴

British-Boer hostility started as early as 1806, when Britain occupied the Dutch Cape.²⁹⁵ England constituted an imperial civilisation rather than increasing British intervention.²⁹⁶ After the abolition of slavery by Britain in 1833 throughout the British Empire, discontent cropped up among the Dutch settlers in the Cape Colony. Although relatively few Afrikaners had slaves, slave emancipation caused a shortage of labour.²⁹⁷

With the loss of traditional tied labour through the abolition of slavery, drought, struggle for land ownership and security the first immigration wave led by ‘*Voortrekkers*’ (pioneers) moved north into Africa.²⁹⁸ They wanted to become a free people in an independent state.²⁹⁹ As a result, nearly 14 000 Boers emigrated, with their coloured and African servants, with the intention of breaking free from a centralising and alien

²⁹⁴ Pakenham, *The Boer War*, xxi; Denis Judd and Keith Surridge, *The Boer War: A History*, 2nd ed. (New York: IB Tauris, 2013), 17.

²⁹⁵ Nasson, *The War for South Africa*, 21.

²⁹⁶ Bill Nasson, *The South African War 1899-1902* (London: Arnold, 1999), 3.

²⁹⁷ T. R. H. Davenport, “The Consolidation of a New Society: The Cape Colony,” in *The Oxford History of South Africa*, vol. 1, ed. by Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 292.

²⁹⁸ Nasson, *The War for South Africa*, 23.

²⁹⁹ Leonard Thompson, “Co-operation and Conflict: The High Veld,” in *The Oxford History of South Africa*, vol. 1, ed. by Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 406.

power, and to escape to some Promised Land. This became known as the ‘Great Trek’ between 1837 and 1854.³⁰⁰ It was “a rebellion against the British government”.³⁰¹

The Boer farmers created small republics. In 1852, the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* or South African Republic (Transvaal) and in 1854 the *Oranjevrijstaat* or Orange Free State were established across the Orange River. These republics were recognised by Britain.

However, the discovery of diamonds and gold in the region’s high central plateau intensified British-Boer antagonism.³⁰² The Boers had potential access to immense wealth due to their position near the newly discovered diamond and gold sources.³⁰³ The southernmost tip of Africa emerged as an imperative economic and strategic interest for England. It was seen by the British that the independent Transvaal Boers, who were hindering imperial economic and political dominance, were an obstruction to be removed.³⁰⁴ From the 1870s, Britain started steadily increasing pressure, interference, demands and threats to the Transvaal government which strengthened Boer republican nationalism.³⁰⁵ Britain occupied the Transvaal in 1877. The Boers rebelled against British authority in 1880, which led the ‘First Boer War’ or ‘Transvaal Rebellion’. This conflict concluded with a Boer victory at the Battle of Majuba Hill in 1881.

Nevertheless, with the discovery of gold in 1886 in the Transvaal, Johannesburg started rapidly to industrialise and drew international capital or money flow.³⁰⁶ The Transvaal was the largest single source of a supply of gold in the world by 1898.³⁰⁷ The Cape administration aimed to possess the treasure of the Transvaal, which had become the natural commercial centre of the entire subcontinent.³⁰⁸ Britain regarded the new economic centre as a threat to England’s imperial supremacy in South Africa.³⁰⁹

Great Britain also wished to secure her colonies in the imperial race of the time. It was clear that Britain’s desire to establish a British federation played a crucial role in the occurrence of the Anglo–Boer struggle.

³⁰⁰ Leonard Thompson, “Co-operation and Conflict: The Zulu Kingdom and Natal” in *The Oxford History of South Africa*, vol. 1, ed. by Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 355.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Nasson, *The War for South Africa*, 21.

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Ibid, 25.

³⁰⁵ Smith, *The Origins of the South African War, 1899-1902*, xi; Nasson, *The War for South Africa*, 25.

³⁰⁶ Peter Warwick, *Black People and the South African War 1899, 1902* (Braamfontein: Ravan Press, 1983), 1.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Nasson, *The War for South Africa*, 26.

³⁰⁹ Warwick, *Black People and the South African War 1899, 1902*, 1.

In addition, a cosmopolitan population migrated to the region from Europe, America and the whole of South Africa, initiating the Witwatersrand Gold Rush. These people, mostly of British origin, called *uitlanders* (foreigners), were mining engineers, craftsmen and fortune-seekers.³¹⁰ They believed that they outnumbered the Boers and demanded political rights, which the Boer administration in the Transvaal refused them. They were also overwhelmed by the tax levels.³¹¹ The workers claim for enhancement was refused by Paul Kruger, President of the South African Republic (reign 1883-1902). He ignored all protests by the *uitlanders* with the words: "Protest! What's the use of protesting? You have not the guns. We have."³¹² Thereupon, the *uitlanders* prepared for an insurrection to achieve their rights by force of arms.³¹³

These factors led the British administration to struggle once again with two of the world's smallest states, the independent Orange Free State and independent, yet not fully sovereign Transvaal.³¹⁴

4. 2. Trigger of the war

On the 29 December 1895, Dr Leander Starr Jameson, the administrator of the British South Africa Company and British colonial statesman, led his men to carry out a hare-brained raid. The aim was to trigger an uprising by the *uitlanders* against the South African Republic. It would provide an excuse for England's interfering directly in the Pretoria's affairs.³¹⁵ The workers, called conspirators, had a roughly-outlined plan which rendered the raid abortive. Jameson belittled the power of the Boer commandos.³¹⁶ The reformers or *uitlanders* supposed that the Boers stopped him, while Jameson was thinking that the reformers would send a substantial reinforcement or armed force to meet him. But neither one nor the other occurred.³¹⁷ The raid did not stimulate the British workers in the Transvaal, yet heightened the tension between the Cape and the Transvaal governments.

Prior to the raid, Paul Kruger presumably would have come to an agreement with the Reformers. However, the raid rendered this compromise hopeless and invigorated the British-Boer hostility. It exacerbated the already poor relations, vilified Joseph Chamberlain, the British colonial secretary and caused Alfred Milner, British high

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ Earl Buxton, review of *The Jameson Raid*, by Hugh Marshall Hole, *Journal of the Royal African Society*, vol. 30, no. 119 (April 1931), 116.

³¹² W. Baring Pemberton, *Battles of the Boer War* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1964), 24.

³¹³ Buxton, "The Jameson Raid," 116.

³¹⁴ Smith, *The Origins of the South African War, 1899-1902*, 1.

³¹⁵ Warwick, *Black People and the South African War 1899, 1902*, 2.

³¹⁶ Buxton, "The Jameson Raid," 115.

³¹⁷ Ibid, 114.

commissioner of South Africa known to become “as violent and as obstinate as himself”.³¹⁸ The *uitlanders* wrote a petition to the British Queen, signed by over 21 000 people, in February 1899 asking support for their political rights.³¹⁹

Eventually, an antipathetic and fruitless conference was held between Paul Kruger and Lord Milner, British High Commissioner of the Cape Colony, on 30 May, 1899. In September 1899, Joseph Chamberlain, the British Colonial Secretary, demanded full equality for the *uitlanders*. Kruger issued an ultimatum on 9 October, 1899, seeing that war was inevitable. He gave Britain forty-eight hours to withdraw her forces from the borders of both the Transvaal and Orange Free State. This was not the first ultimatum. A month before this, Chamberlain (British Colonial Secretary) had already drafted one supposing the Transvaal government delayed.³²⁰ Britain rejected the ultimatum and the war started on 11 October, 1899. Sister Boer republic, the fully independent Orange Free State, supported the Transvaal government in the war to protect its control over the mineral developments in the Transvaal.³²¹

4. 3. The progression of the war

Neither power thought that the war would last very long.³²² Britain was over-confident at the start of the war. It was thought by Britain that the war would be accomplished certainly within six months, perhaps even before Christmas.³²³ They underestimated the Boer qualities.³²⁴ The Boer forces were mobile, talented, skilled shots, used to life in the saddle, and familiar with the area.³²⁵ They had the most modern weaponry, such as Mauser rifles imported from Germany.³²⁶ Their militant philosophy was strategic. It was heard from many Boers that: “You English fight to die: we Boers fight to live.”³²⁷

The Boers planned to progress deep into Natal and the Cape Colony and inflict a few conclusive defeats on the 20 000 British forces that were in South Africa. Their aim was to trigger a Boer uprising in the Cape Colony where the Boers outnumbered the British population by 3:2. This might affect Britain’s position in the empire and in the world and as a result Great Britain would prefer to negotiate an agreement, rather than send in a

³¹⁸ Nasson, *The War for South Africa*, 33.

³¹⁹ Pemberton, *Battles of the Boer War*, 24.

³²⁰ Nasson, *The War for South Africa*, 35.

³²¹ Warwick, *Black People and the South African War 1899, 1902*, 3.

³²² Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1889-1902: White Man's War, Black Man's War, Traumatic War*, 27.

³²³ Peter Warwick, ed., *The South African War: The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902* (Essex: Longman, 1980), 58.

³²⁴ Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1889-1902: White Man's War, Black Man's War, Traumatic War*, 22.

³²⁵ Smith, *The Origins of the South African War, 1899-1902*, 3.

³²⁶ Warwick, *The South African War: The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*, 58.

³²⁷ Pemberton, *Battles of the Boer War*, 21.

massive military power. The Boers thus expected a short struggle and quick peace agreement, as had happened in 1880-1881.³²⁸

They failed to notice the fact that the Liberal Party was in power in the British government at the time of the 1880–1881 Transvaal War, when Gladstone was in office as Prime Minister. However, the Conservative Party was in power in London in 1899 and, as Lord Salisbury the British Prime Minister put it: “the real point to be made good to South Africa is that we, not the Dutch, are boss”.³²⁹

The war had three specific stages. At the beginning of the war, the British Army had financial problems and a lack of manpower. There was also conflict between the political and military leaders as well as internal rivalry in the army. Its information system and its administration were inadequate.³³⁰

During the first three months of the war, the Boers launched three crucial attacks, occupying northern Natal and besieging Ladysmith; invading the Cape Colony, and striking westwards to sever British communications with Rhodesia; and laying siege to the British garrisons in Kimberley and Mafeking. The Boers defeated the British forces on all three fronts; Colenso, the Stormberg and Magersfontein during what was known as ‘black week’ in December 1899.³³¹

Undoubtedly, the British army was unprepared at the onset of the war. In the second phase of the war, Britain sent to South Africa heavy imperial reinforcements. Under the command of Lord Roberts as Commander-in-Chief and Lord Kitchener as his Chief-of-Staff, British forces prevailed; besieged Ladysmith, Kimberley and Mafeking were relieved. The Transvaal and Orange Free State were occupied during the first half of 1900: on 13 March -Bloemfontein, on 24 May -the Orange Free State, on 31 May Johannesburg and on 5 June -Pretoria.³³² The Transvaal and OFS were annexed as colonies of the British Crown by September, 1900.³³³ The war seemed to be won. However, it just took another form.

The most merciless and prolonged period of the war started when the Boers resorted to guerilla tactics under leaders such as, Louis Botha, Christiaan de Wet, J. C. Smuts and J. H. de la Rey.³³⁴ The Boer guerillas evaded the imperial forces and continued to harass the British army by raiding their stores of materièl also confusing the army’s communication

³²⁸ Smith, *The Origins of the South African War, 1899-1902*, 1, 2.

³²⁹ Ibid, 2.

³³⁰ Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1889-1902: White Man's War, Black Man's War, Traumatic War*, 22.

³³¹ Warwick, *Black People and the South African War 1899, 1902*, 3.

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Smith, *The Origins of the South African War, 1899-1902*, 3.

³³⁴ Warwick, *Black People and the South African War 1899, 1902*, 3.

system by forming small, mobile military units.³³⁵ The Boers launched small-scale raids in order to establish connections with mutinous republican sympathisers.

In response to the success of the Boer tactics, the British swept the veld clean under the command of Horatio Herbert Kitchener (1850-1916), a British general who was brought from the Sudan after defeating the Mahdists. They razed and burnt farms and Boer stock was looted.³³⁶ Around 30 000 farmsteads and approximately forty towns were partially or totally destroyed.³³⁷ Britain constructed 3700 miles of barbed-wire barricades and 8000 blockhouses, guarded by over 50 000 troops, to restrain the Boer guerilla units.³³⁸

Britain herded the Boer women and children into concentration camps. They also established camps for African people. The reasoning behind the camps was to ensure that the black and white civilians had no part in the support of the war.³³⁹ They were referred as 'refugee camps' by many British sources, and 'murder camps' by the Boers.³⁴⁰ Thousands of Boer and black civilians were sent to these internment camps with the British scorched-earth policy.³⁴¹ There were tens of thousands of Afrikaners and Africans in the concentration camps by the end of the war.³⁴²

In these camps more than 50 000 black and white civilians died. Out of the total Boer population of 219 000 in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, approximately 28 000 Afrikaner civilians, of whom nearly 22 000 were children, died in the camps.³⁴³

A total of sixty-six refugee camps were set up to house Africans and to make them available for manual labour³⁴⁴. Here conditions were mostly worse than those in the white camps.³⁴⁵ More than 14 000 Africans died in the camps.³⁴⁶ At the end of the war, there were at least 140 000 African people in these camps.³⁴⁷

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ Pakenham, *The Boer War*, xvii.

³³⁷ Smith, *The Origins of the South African War, 1899-1902*, 3; Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1889-1902: White Man's War, Black Man's War, Traumatic War*, 141.

³³⁸ Warwick, *Black People and the South African War 1899, 1902*, 4; Smith, *The Origins of the South African War, 1899-1902*, 4.

³³⁹ Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1889-1902: White Man's War, Black Man's War, Traumatic War*, 141.

³⁴⁰ Ibid, 137.

³⁴¹ Ibid, 99.

³⁴² Donal Lowry, ed., *The South African War Reappraised* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 3.

³⁴³ Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1889-1902: White Man's War, Black Man's War, Traumatic War*, 142; Lowry, *The South African War Reappraised*, 2.

³⁴⁴ Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1889-1902: White Man's War, Black Man's War, Traumatic War*, 131.

³⁴⁵ Lowry, *The South African War Reappraised*, 2.

³⁴⁶ Warwick, *Black People and the South African War 1899, 1902*, 4.

³⁴⁷ Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1889-1902: White Man's War, Black Man's War, Traumatic War*, 131.

President Kruger declared in his memoirs:

The war in South Africa exceeded the limits of barbarism. I have fought against many barbarous *Kaffir* tribes in the course of my life; but they are not so barbarous as English, who have burnt our farms and driven our children into destitution, without food or shelter.³⁴⁸

On 31 May, 1902, the Treaty of Vereeniging was signed declaring the Transvaal and Orange Free State colonies of England. Great Britain was only able to win the war through superiority in numbers, financial means, military equipment, and using ruthless methods of battle; not through any equivalent or higher combat ability against fearless and tough warriors.³⁴⁹ Or, to put it another way, Britain triumphed over sparsely equipped, coarse farmers, but only through pitiless destruction, burning, and the rounding up civilians.³⁵⁰

4. 4. The outcomes of the War

The South African War was not a long war, yet it had far-reaching outcomes. Great Britain entered the largest, deadliest and costliest war between the defeat of Napoleon in 1815 and World War I (1914-1918).³⁵¹ The war cost more than 200 million pounds, twenty times more than expected, and caused a rise in income tax.³⁵² The British government equipped and transported the largest army ever to go overseas and maintained it for almost three years.³⁵³ A total of 450 000 British and Empire troops and 88 000 Boers were involved in the war.³⁵⁴ Approximately 22 000 British soldiers, 7 000 Afrikaner combatants and an unknown number, but not less than 15 000 of the coloured and African populations died.³⁵⁵ The weapons used during the war were much more costly to the British than to the Boers. It cost the British 1 000 pounds per Boer combatant, while it only cost the Boers fifteen pence per British soldier.³⁵⁶

³⁴⁸ *The Memoirs of Paul Kruger*, vol. 2 (London, 1902), Nasson, *The War for South Africa*.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 309.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 29.

³⁵¹ Smith, *The Origins of the South African War, 1899-1902*, 1.

³⁵² Warwick, *The South African War: The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*, 2, 59; Pemberton, *Battles of the Boer War*, 206.

³⁵³ Smith, *The Origins of the South African War, 1899-1902*, 4.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 2; Warwick, *Black People and the South African War 1899, 1902*, 2.

³⁵⁵ Warwick, *The South African War: The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*, 59; Smith, *The Origins of the South African War, 1899-1902*, 2.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 4.

Moreover, on both sides, new technology was used in the war, such as automatic handguns, magazine-fed rifles, and machine guns. Horses, railways, steamships and the telegraph played very important parts.³⁵⁷ It was a crucial experience for Britain to fight against the well-armed and skilled Boer commandoes who were excellent shots and snipers. The First Great War could have had a different outcome without this experience.³⁵⁸

There is no doubt that the Anglo-Boer War was not a 'white man's war' only, nor a 'gentleman's war'. Hundreds of thousands of people from all ethnic groups were extremely affected by the war. Only a fifth of the total population was white when the war was fought in 1899. In the literal sense, it was a 'South African War'.³⁵⁹

From the outset, both contesting powers deployed non-Europeans in the war, despite their intentions not to use them.³⁶⁰ Non-Europeans -blacks, Asians and coloured people- were used in passive or defensive roles as spies, messengers, watchmen in the blockhouses, transport drivers, scouts, guards, and servants.³⁶¹ As the war prolonged, however, Britain used non-Europeans in combatant roles.³⁶² Possibly 30 000 blacks fought with the British forces at the end of the war.³⁶³ The Boers were defeated largely as a result of their failure to accumulate any significant African support.³⁶⁴

The number of coloured people in the Cape was 2 939, and there were 4 618 Natives in Natal, the Orange Free State, and Transvaal. In November 1900, the total non-European population used in the war was 10 053, as Kitchener reported.³⁶⁵ Possibly 14 000 African and coloured commando auxiliaries, and 120 000 African, coloured, and Indian men were used in non-combatant roles.³⁶⁶ Between 10 000 and 30 000 Africans were recruited by Britain. Boers also armed African people. A British major indicated that they were "fighting black men, not white ones".³⁶⁷ At least 20 000 blacks died in this fierce conflict.

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ Dylan Craig: "The Weapons and Battles of the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902)," Accessed 23 September 2018. Available from <http://www.heliograph.com/trmgs/trmgs4/boer.shtml>.

³⁵⁹ Warwick, *Black People and the South African War 1899, 1902*, 4.

³⁶⁰ Bill Nasson, *Uyadela Wen'osulapho Black Participation in the South African War* (Randburg: Ravan Press, 1999), 1-3; Warwick, *Black People and the South African War 1899, 1902*, 5.

³⁶¹ Hulme T. Siwundhla, "White Ideologies and Non-European Participation in the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902," *Journal of Black Studies*, vol. 15, no. 2 (December 1984), 233; Warwick, *Black People and the South African War 1899, 1902*, 4.

³⁶² Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1889-1902: White Man's War, Black Man's War, Traumatic War*, 133.

³⁶³ Warwick, *Black People and the South African War 1899, 1902*, 5.

³⁶⁴ Nasson, *The War for South Africa*, 31.

³⁶⁵ Siwundhla, "White Ideologies and Non-European Participation in the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902," 225.

³⁶⁶ Nasson, *The War for South Africa*, 309.

³⁶⁷ Ibid, 233.

Tens of thousands black people were traumatised from the war. Many of them lost their homes through the British scorched-earth policy.

Even though Britain won the war, she made an enormous political gaffe. Presumably, the best-known feature of the war was the grisly concentration camps built by the British. The holocaust in the camps stirred the British conscience.³⁶⁸ British public opinion was divided by the tactics used in the war. The Liberal leader, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman criticised these tactics as ‘methods of barbarism’.³⁶⁹ Moreover, surprisingly, some English-speaking people in South Africa fought on the Afrikaner side. Many British subjects were sympathetic to the Boer cause. A significant number of British citizens were also pro-Boer during the war. For instance, Mary Kingsley, a middle-aged British woman, went to South Africa to nurse Afrikaners.³⁷⁰ Emily Hobhouse was also famous British woman visiting South Africa during the war. She went to the concentration camps and worked with the women, then returned to London and protested about the conditions to the British parliament and press. Her reports had a considerable effect on civilian public opinion. Also, many British officers who were sent to the South African War had sympathy for the Boers. According to a Captain Montmorency of the 21st Lancers: “In my opinion, the cause of the Dutch Burghers was a just one and I regarded the Boers as men fighting for their hearths against greedy foreign aggressors”.³⁷¹

4. 5. Stance of the pro-British Young Turks towards the South-African War of 1899-1902

The Ottomans were not unconcerned about the war in the Transvaal. The South African War was important for the world as well as the Ottomans. Upon the outbreak of the war most pro-British Young Turks wrote articles in the literary journal *Servet-i Fünûn* (Wealth of Science) about the superiority of the British social structure.³⁷² For instance, Ahmed Şuayib (1876–1910), author and jurist, asserted in July 1900:

Most of the English people who graduate from college ride a ship and take a tour around the World in order to become a second Cecil Rhodes. The Frenchman who finishes his education and military service, on the other hand,

³⁶⁸ Pakenham, *The Boer War*, xvii.

³⁶⁹ Lowry, *The South African War Reappraised*, 2.

³⁷⁰ Denis and Surridge, *The Boer War: A History*, 4, 5.

³⁷¹ Ibid, 5.

³⁷² *Servet-i Fünûn* was published from 1891 to 1944 and one of the most long-termed journals in the Ottoman Empire with its 2464 issues. Mehmet Nuhoğlu, “Türk Sanatı Açısından Servet-i Fünûn Dergisindeki Şehirlere Ait Yazı ve Görseller,” *Marmara Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Autumn 2014), 180.

runs after rich and beautiful girls. Here is the difference between the cultures of the two great countries.³⁷³

Indeed, the founder of *Servet-i Fünûn*, Ahmed İhsan (Tokgöz) (1868–1942) later confessed in his memoirs about the blind Anglophilia of some of the Young Turks. He noted that the Young Turks and he himself spoke against ‘miserable Boers’ in favour of the British in the South African War. İhsan asserted that Britain stirred up ‘terrific propaganda’ in her favour by all means possible. Great Britain displayed the Boers to the world as rebels and treacherous people. Britain declared they were just suppressing the rebellion. The Young Turks were affected by this British agitprop. However, the Boers, and their beloved leader Paul Kruger, only sought their independence. According to Ahmed İhsan, many Turkish intellectuals believed British political propaganda immediately, since the Young Turks opposed the Sultan’s anti-British foreign policy.³⁷⁴ However, Wilhelm II (1888-1918), the German Emperor (Kaiser), sent a telegram to Paul Kruger wishing him victory in the war. Because Wilhelm II had visited Abdülhamid II twice in Istanbul and had good relations with the Sultan, the Young Turks gave the Kaiser the evil eye.³⁷⁵

In this sense, it can be seen in the memoirs of Ahmed İhsan that the pro-British Young Turks supported Britain in the South African War, due to their opposition to Abdülhamid II. İhsan also added that they presumed that England was the most freedom-loving and most benevolent administration in the world. He wrote that they were pro-British in the South African War at least as much as the English.³⁷⁶

To demonstrate their devotion to Britain, İhsan also wrote that when the British Ambassador, Edward Malet returned to Istanbul in 1908, some Young Turks filled the Sirkeci harbour and gave him a round of applause. Some of them even pulled the horses from the the ambassador’s carriage and then drew the carriage away with their bare hands.³⁷⁷ In this regard, the idea of Ahmed Şuayib and Ahmed İhsan and the group they represented, seemed quite immature and misguided.

On the other hand, some Ottoman journals such as *Malumat Gazetesi* and *İkdam Dergisi* emphasised that involving Africans in the South African War caused their deaths. However, the real owners of the region were actually the African people and this war

³⁷³ Ahmed Şuayib, “Ulumu Siyasiye ve İctimaiye,” *Servet-i Fünun*, no. 488 (6 Temmuz 1316 [19 July 1900]), 310, 131.

³⁷⁴ Ahmed İhsan (Tokgöz), *Matbuat Hatıralarım*, prep. by Alpay Kabacalı (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), 87.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Ibid, 88.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

made no sense for them.³⁷⁸ This demonstrates the awareness of some Ottomans for the African participation in the South African War.

One of the longest texts written by the Ottomans on the South African War was *Afrika-yı Cenubi Muharebesi* (South African War) of 96 pages, by Mahmud Muhtar Pasha (Katircioğlu) (1867-1935), an Ottoman military officer and minister of the Ottoman Naval Force. His text is very dense and would reward careful study. Mahmud Muhtar Pasha analysed the war from the military perspective by describing the battles of the war. Mahmud Muhtar Pasha was pro-Boer in this war. According to him, the initiator of the war was the British government.³⁷⁹ He described the reason for the Great Trek as the British suppression of the Boers.³⁸⁰ He noted that the British army in South Africa encountered “a hard nut to crack”.³⁸¹ When he wrote the book, the Boers were outmatching the English. Mahmud Muhtar Pasha declared that the British deceived themselves and the world by publishing ‘imagined’ telegrams expressing their victory over the Boers. However, it became clear that England had had a great defeat in the southernmost tip of Africa.³⁸² To him, the Boer victory was very significant, since they were fighting as guerilla units against regular British forces.³⁸³ The British public was worried about the defeat of the British army in Black Week against “semi-wild farmers”.³⁸⁴

Mehmed Cavid (1875-1926), the famous minister of finance of the CUP, noted in *Servet-i Fünun* that the real reason for Britain to go to war in South Africa was to administer the Transvaal with her own laws and customs and to apply her own political management. According to his article, dated 6 October, 1902, it was slander or irony to claim that the British intention in the war was to acquire the gold mines. On the other hand, Britain was annoyed with the commercial system, monopoly, heavy duties, and the turbulent administration of the republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State. The policy of the South African republics was damaging the free trade policy of England.

According to Mehmed Cavid, Britain had experienced an economic downturn for the previous ten years. In order to convince British public opinion, the administration declared that the war was necessary for commerce. However, it had made the economic situation of England worse.

³⁷⁸ Uçar, *140 Yıllık Miras Güney Afrika’da Osmanlılar*, 272.

³⁷⁹ Mahmud Muhtar Pasha, *Afrika-yı Cenubi Muharebesi* (Istanbul, Matbaa-i Ebu’z-zıya: 1901), 75.

³⁸⁰ Ibid, 4.

³⁸¹ Ibid, 28.

³⁸² Ibid, 37, 38.

³⁸³ Ibid, 41.

³⁸⁴ Ibid, 87.

Cavid further wrote that an analogy could be drawn between the South African War and the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, which caused the unification of Germany. Nevertheless, due to the fact that the outcomes of the two wars were very different, they could not be alike. The Franco-Prussian War instigated German national feelings and rejuvenated Germany, while the South African War did not do the same for that country.³⁸⁵

The prosperity of South Africa, because of the gold mines, attracted the attention of the Ottoman intellectuals, even after the war. In *Şehbal* dated 14 October, 1909, the Ottoman administration was criticised and a photograph was published of “a new government palace in a new African country”, in order not to process her mines. Under the photograph, the caption said: “The Transvaal government does not waste its mineral resources, as we do, by leaving them in the ground.” It was also stated that the small Transvaal derived all of her income from her mines. The Transvaal and the Ottoman Empire were compared, and it was seen that the places in Transvaal were very magnificent, while in the empire’s were poor. In another photograph, the parliament in Pretoria was seen and was described as spectacular and “the wonders of a good administration”.³⁸⁶ There was also a photograph of a Johannesburg mine headgear, followed by the comment: “The main industry that has contributed to the prosperity of the Transvaal”.³⁸⁷

4. 6. The Young Turks’ visit the British Embassy in Istanbul

Ismail Kemal’s and some pro-British Young Turks’ comments on the South African War were strongly influenced by their Anglophile ideas. Ismail Kemal and Hüseyin Siyret (1872-1959), a leading actor in *Servet-i Fünûn* and member of the CUP, were very complimentary of Britain in the war. A group of Ottoman intellectuals wanted to visit the British embassy in order to wish Great Britain triumph in the South-African War. In November, 1899, a declaration was written exalting the British at the instigation of Ismail Kemal and Hüseyin Siyret.³⁸⁸ İsmail Safa Bey penned and Hüseyin Siyret engrossed the declaration.³⁸⁹ According to Kenan Akyüz, Ismail Kemal wrote the declaration by himself.³⁹⁰ They asserted the Ottomans’ wishes for the victory of the British Empire in

³⁸⁵ Mehmed Cavid, “İngiltere Ticareti ve Transval Muharebesi,” *Servet-i Fünun*, no. 552 (6 October 1902), 82-86.

³⁸⁶ *Şehbal*, no. 14 (14 October 1909), 272.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 273.

³⁸⁸ Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 139.

³⁸⁹ Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük (1889–1902)*, 336.

³⁹⁰ Ferhat Korkmaz, “Servet-i Fünûn Şair Ve Yazarlarının Transvaal (Boer) Savaşları Karşısındaki Tutumu Hakkında Bir Araştırma,” *Edebi Eleştiri Dergisi*, vol. 2, no. 1 (April 2018); See also Kenan Akyüz *Tevfik Fikret* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları, 1947), 63.

the war. Twenty-nine prominent persons from different spheres of the empire signed the letter.³⁹¹ The signatories were the authors of *Servet-i Fünûn*, numerous bureaucrats, naval officers and *ulema* (scholars) from Baghdad and Mosul.

It was stated in the epistle that Britain was the greatest pioneer state for liberty and justice on earth and that the entire world was ‘appreciative’ of her sacrifices for the prohibition of captivity and maintenance of liberty. Great Britain assisted Turkey concretely and psychologically to defend her rights and to secure her future, especially for the last century. This benevolence created an attachment to England in the hearts of the Ottomans, which would exist and be constant for ever. Ottomans had a duty to appreciate Britain, whose political program was to seek her national interests in the felicity of the other nations.

It was also indicated in this communication, that the native people and thousands of Muslims in South Africa had been subjected to human trafficking and cruel oppression. However, these people obtained freedom and fairness through the struggle of Britain. In this respect, it was a humanitarian obligation to wish success to England for her fight against the South African republics [Boers]. The group supported this ‘sacred’ mission in the name of Ottoman youth and requested proposing their declaration to Great Britain.³⁹² The signatories of the document wished glory, honour and definite success to Queen Victoria in the Transvaal War, which she embarked on with ‘humanitarian intentions’.³⁹³

The letter passed from hand to hand and the signatures were collected. One day the letter dropped out of İsmail Safa’s pocket. All *Servet-i Fünûn* members were very anxious, in fear of being denounced. Afterwards, someone found the letter and brought it to the journal.³⁹⁴

On 20 November, 1899, Sir Nicholas O’Connor, the British ambassador to Constantinople, reported that İsmail Kemal Vlora, who was a member of *Conseil d’Etat*

³⁹¹ The signatories were; Hüseyin Siyret, İsmail Safa (literature teacher and father of Peyami Safa), İsmail Hakkı (later MP for Amasya), Hüseyin Hüsni (müfti of Baghdat), Cemal Sıtkı (müfti of Baghdat), Hocaşade Mehmed Ubeydullah (author), Ahmed Şükrü (former second clerk in the Berlin Embassy), Ahmed Safi, Hüsameddin (foreign ministry official), Rıfat Müeyyed (doctor of law), Mütevellizade Abdülmecid (ulema from Mosul), Rüştü (employee of Council of State), Mehmed Nazmi (military officer), Kemaleddin (translator in Istanbul Police Department), Mahmud Nedim (author), Abdülkerim (author), Ekrem (member of Council of Education and author), Tahir (navy officer), Zülfikar (navy officer), Hamdi (navy officer), Rıfat (navy officer), İsmail Kemal, Beyzade Mahmud Nedim, Samipaşazade Sezai, Mehmed Cavid (editor of Sabah newspaper, later minister of finance), Ahmed Kemal (alumni of the School of Commerce), Mehmed Rauf (author of *Servet-i Fünûn*), Tevfik Fikret (author of *Servet-i Fünûn*) and Ağa Hasib (the Attorney of Ministry of Finance). PRO/FO 78/4996; BBA YEE 19/1428/130/58; Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük (1889-1902)*, 575.

³⁹² Uçar, *140 Yıllık Miras Güney Afrika’da Osmanlılar*, 273, 274.

³⁹³ Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İnkılap Hareketleri ve Milli Mücadele*, 215.

³⁹⁴ Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, *Edebiyat Anıları* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1975), 132.

and a prominent and enlightened statesman, had informed him of a delegation to visit the British embassy. The delegation wanted to offer their best wishes and sympathy to the British government, which was at war with the South African Republic. O'Connor, however, did not want to receive the Young Turks' delegation at first, as it consisted of the opponents of the Sultan. Nonetheless, some prominent leaders of the Young Turks, including Ismail Kemal, warranted that this act was not political and not related to the Young Turks, but only a group of Muslims who wanted to tender their sturdy sympathy to England in this way.³⁹⁵ Thereupon, a group of ten Muslims presented the declaration to the ambassador at six o'clock.³⁹⁶ They also indicated their readiness to volunteer for Britain, while many foreign volunteers were fighting for the Boers in the war.³⁹⁷

In addition, Ismail Kemal and some pro-British Young Turks took part in a silent demonstration outside the British Consulate in Istanbul on the same day. The number of persons attending was 150 according to the British Foreign Office, but eighty-nine according to the Chief Secretary of the Sultan, Tahsin Pasha. Meanwhile, many members of the CUP in Europe supported in their articles the ideas emphasised in the declaration.

The British Ambassador, Sir Nicholas O'Connor, expressed to the delegation that the British Queen, who had millions of Muslim subjects, would be glad to learn of this spontaneous declaration of Muslim sympathy.³⁹⁸

On the other hand, O'Connor was concerned about the incident and notified the Ottoman Foreign Minister about the document. Tefvik Pasha (1845-1936), the Ottoman Foreign Minister, conveyed their pleasure in the British victory in the war. He, however, added their apprehension for the occasion.³⁹⁹ Nonetheless, according to Hüseyin Cahit, the government learnt about the letter from Abdullah Zühtü (1869, 1925), author and journalist who denounced the group.⁴⁰⁰

Anthopoulos Pasha, Ottoman Ambassador to London, was entrusted with the task of taking up the matter with the British Foreign Office.⁴⁰¹ Anthopoulos Pasha described in

³⁹⁵ Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük (1889-1902)*, 573.

³⁹⁶ PRO/FO 78/4996; BOA YEE 19/1428/130/58; Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük (1889-1902)*, 575.

³⁹⁷ Tahsin Paşa Esbak Mabeyn Başkatibi, *Abdülhamid ve Yıldız Hatıraları* (Istanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, 1931), 229; Judd and Surridge, *The Boer War: A History*, 1.

³⁹⁸ PRO/FO 78/4996; BOA YEE 19/1428/130/58; Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük (1889-1902)*, 575.

³⁹⁹ Ibid, 336.

⁴⁰⁰ Yalçın, *Edebiyat Anıları*, 133.

⁴⁰¹ Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 139.

his report, dated 3 December, 1899 to the palace, that all the signatories were *erazil* (the vile men); dishonest, insurgent, ignorant, dissolute and unloving persons.⁴⁰²

German, French and Austrian representatives in the Ottoman centre also reported the incident to their countries. The German Ambassador to Istanbul reported that Abdülhamid was worried about the incident, which was a political demonstration conducted publicly. The French Representative indicated that British influence was increased in Istanbul and the Russians and French endeavoured to enhance their influence in return. According to the Austrian delegates, this Anglophile demonstration was only a part of a broader movement. There were state officials and *ulema* behind the action.⁴⁰³ Indeed, in a short span of time, there was mobility among the Young Turks in Istanbul. Moreover, just before the demonstration at the British Consulate in Istanbul, a great Anglophile, Ali Haydar Midhat, son of Midhat Pasha fled to Europe. His flight demonstrated to Europe and the Young Turks alike, that he could no longer live in the Ottoman Empire under the Sultan.⁴⁰⁴

Following the protest, signatories and demonstrators were interrogated at Yıldız Palace.⁴⁰⁵ Hüseyin Siyret indicated in his inquisition dated 28 November, 1899, at Yıldız Palace that one day he went to the house of Ismail Kemal and they talked about the war in the Transvaal.⁴⁰⁶ Ismail Kemal first referred to Russian sympathy towards the Boers. Showing favour to England, whose interests were always parallel with Turkey's, would contribute to the development of an intimacy between the two countries. When Hüseyin Siyret asked in what way they could show their affinity to Britain, Ismail Kemal replied that they could write a paper, as men of letters, and have this signed by their fellows. He also added that it would be great to go to the British Embassy with some well-known young men. After two days Ismail Kemal had a talk with İsmail Safa Bey on the same issue and Safa Bey prepared a rough copy on this matter. Hüseyin Siyret Bey made the corrections and signed the paper. Then they visited the embassy.⁴⁰⁷ Hüseyin Siyret,

⁴⁰² TNA, K. 338 (3); Hanoğlu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti*, 577-579.

⁴⁰³ Hanoğlu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük (1889-1902)*, 336, 337.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 337.

⁴⁰⁵ İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, *Son Asır Türk Şairleri* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1969), 1688, 1689.

⁴⁰⁶ Nevertheless, Hüseyin Siyret expressed in his memoirs that they held a meeting in Ali Galip Bey's house (1849-1919), who was the Ambassador to Athens, Tehran, Vienna, Berlin formerly. According to Akyüz, Nazım Pasha, Hüseyin Siyret, İsmail Safa, Hüseyin Cahit and Ubeydullah Efendi held a meeting also in the house of Ali Galip Bey. Akyüz, *Tevfik Fikret*, 63.

⁴⁰⁷ BBA YEE, 19/1428/130/58; Hanoğlu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük (1889-1902)*, 573.

however, noted in his memoirs that they visited the British Embassy to show England that the Ottoman nation did not share the Sultan's hostile policy towards Great Britain.⁴⁰⁸

Hüseyin Cahit (Yalçın) did not sign the declaration because of the warnings of Nazım Pasha (later the War Minister). He remarked in his memoirs that Ismail Kemal struggled with liberty and introducing constitutionalism to Turkey with British support. He asked the British Ambassador for this support many times. However, the Ambassador replied, that the Empire harmonized with the British monarchy. Thereupon, Ismail Kemal wanted to show O'Connor a sign of awakening and youth movement in the Ottoman Empire. To write a wish for victory to Britain in the war in the Transvaal would please the British Embassy. Kemal sought to provide interference in the Ottoman government by Britain with this demonstration of affection. To Hüseyin Cahit, it was not reasonable to expect to shift the policy of Britain towards the Ottoman Empire, and force the Sultan to declare constitutionalism, just because a few Turkish young men expressed their good wishes for the South African War. He also noted that Ismail Kemal wanted to derive his own personal benefits from this incident. However, authors of *Servet-i Fünûn* believed this 'fable' immediately.⁴⁰⁹

According to Rıfat Müeyyed, the reason for this partisanship towards Britain was the Crimean War of 1853-1856. This action was a kind of duty of loyalty to Britain, who defended the Turks against the Russians. Otherwise, Turks would appear ungrateful on the stage of history. It should have done something in favour of the British.⁴¹⁰

Fifty-seven people were arrested in relation to the incident.⁴¹¹ However, the British administration as well as the media frowned on penalising the participants.⁴¹² After some interrogation relating to the incident, British Ambassador O'Connor intervened in the affair. He indicated that reprimanding the signatories could stir up British public opinion and harm relations between the two countries.⁴¹³ The arrested signatories were released with the British intervention.⁴¹⁴ Ismail Kemal was interrogated. However, the Sultan did not punish Kemal, to avoid upsetting the British.⁴¹⁵ Nonetheless, the other participants

⁴⁰⁸ Uçar, *140 Yıllık Miras Güney Afrika'da Osmanlılar*, 276.

⁴⁰⁹ Yalçın, *Edebiyat Anıları*, 131.

⁴¹⁰ Hüsiye Çelik, "İsmail Safa'nın Edebiyat Nazariyesine Dair Çalışmaları" (Master's diss., Trakya Üniversitesi, 2017), 272.

⁴¹¹ Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük (1889-1902)*, 338.

⁴¹² Ibid, 336.

⁴¹³ TNA, K. 338 (3); Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük (1889-1902)*, 578.

⁴¹⁴ Hüseyin Siyret indicated that he and some other signatories were imprisoned for three days after their cross-examination. Subsequently, they were pardoned with the attempt of Sir O'Connor. İnal, *Son Asır Türk Şairleri*, 1688, 1689.

⁴¹⁵ Tahsin Paşa, *Abdülhamid ve Yıldız Hatıraları*, 230.

were arrested and then exiled after a few months.⁴¹⁶ The Sultan at first exiled Hüseyin Siyret to Hısn-ı Mansur (Adıyaman), İsmail Safa Bey to Sivas, Ubeydullah Efendi to Taif.⁴¹⁷ According to Cahit, the government did not understand the affair properly, as only some ‘victims’ were exiled.⁴¹⁸ Subsequently, Abdülhamid closed *Servet-i Fünûn* for promoting the writing of Hüseyin Cahit.⁴¹⁹

According to Ahmed İhsan, Abdülhamid was not quick to punish the signatories because he feared the reaction of Britain.⁴²⁰ The Sultan explained to the Ambassador that he had other reasons to banish the signatories.⁴²¹ However, a British newspaper afterwards reported on “the bad treatment suffered by the signatories if the address of sympathy with Great Britain in her struggle with the South African Republics”. Most of the signatories were exiled.⁴²²

However, according to Necip Fazıl, Abdülhamid asked O’Connor, if he was a representative of a foreign country or an extraordinary commissar who inspected someone. He did not deign to ask what kind of penalty would be imposed if the same kind of action were performed in England. The Sultan also requested that he not offer a bribe to him for that kind of subject again.⁴²³

According to Sina Akşin, the overreaction of the Sultan towards the incident demonstrated his engagement in German politics. To him, the exultation of the Turks for the British success against the Boers was also very strange.⁴²⁴

4. 7. Criticism of the pro-British Young Turks

Not everybody in the Ottoman Empire shared the pro-British views of the South African War. For instance, the Turkish nationalist Young Turk organ *Türk*, published in Cairo, later criticised the demonstration held outside the British Consulate in Constantinople and the declaration submitted to the Ambassador. *Türk* drew attention Britain’s struggle to

⁴¹⁶ Akşin, *100 Soruda Jön Türkler ve İttihat ve Terakki*, 41; İsmail Safa was appointed to Sivas with 2 500 *kuruş* salary on 29 April 1900. Alaattin Karaca, “Edebi Tenkitleri ve Şiirleriyle İsmail Safa’nın Edebiyatımızdaki Yeri” (Master’s diss., Ankara Üniversitesi, 1987), 49; Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 139, 146, 147.

⁴¹⁷ Yahya Kemal, *Çocukluğum, Gençliğim, Siyasi ve Edebi Hatıralarım* (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti Yayınları, 1999), 185; Alaattin Karaca, “İsmâil Safâ,” in *DİA*, vol. 23 (2001), 121.

⁴¹⁸ Yalçın, *Edebiyat Anıları*, 132, 133.

⁴¹⁹ Ahmet İhsan, *Matbuat Hatıralarım*, 88.

⁴²⁰ Ibid; Uçar, *140 Yıllık Miras Güney Afrika’da Osmanlılar*, 276.

⁴²¹ Çelik, “İsmail Safa’nın Edebiyat Nazariyesine Dair Çalışmaları,” 23.

⁴²² “The Flight of İsmail Kemal Bey,” *Pall Mall Gazette*, 2 May 1900.

⁴²³ Korkmaz, “Servet-i Fünûn Şair Ve Yazarlarının Transvaal (Boer) Savaşları Karşısındaki Tutumu Hakkında Bir Araştırma,” 91; Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, *Ulu Hakan II. Abdülhamîd Han* (İstanbul: Büyük Doğu Yayınları, 2003), 205.

⁴²⁴ Akşin, *100 Soruda Jön Türkler ve İttihat ve Terakki*, 41.

seize the gold mines in the Transvaal, where the Boer people lived. It was also indicated that the Boers fought against the British, and that the entire world praised their sacrifices for their independence. It was further noted in *Türk*: “Despite this, some of our people, who knew well what they were about, went to the British Embassy and expressed their hopes for a British triumph.”⁴²⁵ Moreover, Tahsin Pasha, Chief Secretary of Abdülhamid II, wrote about the Boers being patriotic people and how people in Istanbul secretly supported and admired them when the Boers defeated the British. To Tahsin Pasha, the showing-off by some intellectuals, in going to the British Embassy was ‘odd’ and ‘improper’.⁴²⁶ This makes it very clear that both the Sultan and some Ottoman intelligentsia did not share the nascent ideas of Ismail Kemal and the pro-British Young Turks.

Furthermore, after the criticism of Abdülhamid by Peyami Safa, son of İsmail Safa who died in exile, Hüseyin Nihal Atsız acknowledged the Sultan to be right. Atsız (1905-1975), nationalist author, poet and philosopher, asked what kind of liberalism could be associated with felicitating Britain, which attacked a handful of Boers with huge armies.⁴²⁷ Moreover, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek (1904-1983), author, poet and Islamist ideologue, claimed that Abdülhamid II was very fair-minded not to execute the signatories charged with treason.⁴²⁸

On 2 April, 1902, another incident was experienced in the Ottoman Empire concerning the war in South Africa. Some military officers were captured while leaving the house of the chief translator of the British Embassy. They informed him of their willingness to fight in the war. After the incident, they were dismissed from their professions and were exiled by the Ottoman government.⁴²⁹

4. 8. An Ottoman war observer in the South African War, Major Aziz Bey

The South African War drew remarkable attention from other nations. America, France, Germany and Japan sent attachés to accompany both British and Boer armies. Attaches from Norway and Russia attended the Boer forces.⁴³⁰ Abdülhamid II followed the South African War of 1899-1902 closely. He sent *Binbaşı* (major) Aziz Bey to monitor the war first hand on 26 February, 1900 with a salary of 200 *lira*.⁴³¹

Aziz Bey was military *attaché* to Washington, USA and was in Paris when he was charged with the task of war observer in the South African War and monitored the war

⁴²⁵ Hanioglu, *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902-1908*, 66.

⁴²⁶ Tahsin Paşa, *Abdülhamid ve Yıldız Hatıraları*, 229, 230.

⁴²⁷ Hüseyin Nihal Atsız, *Türk Tarihinde Meseleler* (Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1966), 81, 82.

⁴²⁸ Uçar, *140 Yıllık Miras Güney Afrika'da Osmanlılar*, 278.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid*, 278, 279.

⁴³⁰ Martin Marix Evans, *Encyclopedia of the Boer War* (Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2000), 183.

⁴³¹ İrade Hususi, 26 L 1317, no. 43; İrade Hususi, 2 Rebiulahir 1317, no. 9.

for six months from within the entourage of Field Marshall Lord Roberts., the British Commander-in-Chief.⁴³² He was given a medal by Britain in 1901.

Major Aziz Bey sent two letters to Istanbul via the Ottoman Embassy in London. He noted that the financial situations of the other war observers were better than his since they were sent to the region with their semi-annual salary as well as travelling expenses. Aziz Bey also added that sending cipher telegrams was forbidden by British headquarters, where he was observing the war, but an open telegram would bring the Ottoman Empire into discredit. For this reason, he preferred to write letters.⁴³³ His letter was sent by Anthopoulos Pasha, the Ottoman Ambassador to London on 1 May, 1900.

Major Aziz Bey was also referred to by his contemporary war correspondents in the South African War. James Francis Harry St. Clair-Erskine (5th Earl of Rosslyn), a correspondent to the *Daily Mail* and the *Sphere* during the war, reported the thought of Major Aziz Bey about the fighting capacity of Boers in his book, *Twice Captured: A Record of Adventure During the Boer War*. According to him, military attaché Aziz Bey summed up very smartly “*Le Boer se batte (bat) lâchement. Il se cache comme un renard, et il court comme un lièvre!*” [The Boer is fighting cowardly. He hides like a fox, and he runs like a hare!]⁴³⁴

Aziz Bey returned to Istanbul with the travel expenses sent in August, 1900.⁴³⁵ However, his observant reports are unknown today.⁴³⁶

Abdülhamid also declared that it was a well-known fact that a word from him as the Caliph of all Muslims was sufficient to harm the British authority in India enormously. He suggested Germany, Russia, and France to take action against England. The South African War was “the best time to ask England to account for its oppression of the Indians and for the violent, stern action undertaken against other nations.” This opportunity was lost. For him, however, one day Indian Muslims would break the British yoke.⁴³⁷

The Ottoman government supported neither British nor Boers in the war. The Ottoman administration was very ambivalent in this case. A Boer victory could have caused religious restrictions on South African Muslims, the same as during the administration of

⁴³² Uçar, *140 Yıllık Miras Güney Afrika'da Osmanlılar*, 68.

⁴³³ The Ottoman Prime Minister's Archive, Y. MTV 202/3, Uçar, *140 Yıllık Miras Güney Afrika'da Osmanlılar*, 280.

⁴³⁴ The Earl of Rosslyn, *Twice Captured: A Record of Adventure During the Boer War*, 3rd ed., (London: Blackwood, 1900) 466.

⁴³⁵ İrade Hususi, 2 Rebiulahir 1318, No. 65; Uçar, *140 Yıllık Miras Güney Afrika'da Osmanlılar*, 280.

⁴³⁶ Ibid, 281.

⁴³⁷ Kemal H. Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 233, 234.

the Dutch East India Company.⁴³⁸ On the other hand, the Ottoman administration never wished for British victory in the war. British-Ottoman relations were in hostile footing, especially after 1878 and the humiliating defeat of the Ottomans by Russia, as well as the anti-British foreign policy during the Hamidian era, the reign of Abdülhamid II. British statesmen believed that the Ottomans would collapse eventually and Britain should get some portion of the Ottoman territories. A stronger Great Britain could stir up much trouble for the Ottoman Empire in world politics.⁴³⁹ On the other hand, British defeat would provide a weakening of British authority over Muslims in her dominions, so she was less likely to intervene in Ottoman domestic issues.⁴⁴⁰ Furthermore, the Ottoman field cannons and rifles ordered from the Krupp Gun Factory in Germany were superior to British cannons.⁴⁴¹ The Ottoman government wished Britain to realize that the Ottomans' had their eyes on Britain, while sending an observer. The Empire wanted to apply an element of pressure upon Britain. It can be understood how the Ottoman Empire viewed the war in South Africa and Britain.

Conclusion

The South African War was the largest and most disgraceful war for Britain between 1815 and 1914. New technology was used in the war and it was a great experience for Britain in the light of WWI. Even if the mighty British Empire fought against Boer guerrillas, the war affected all the people of South Africa profoundly. Non-Europeans were recruited by both warring parties from the outset of the war. Concentration camps were founded on a large scale for the first time, and British scorched-earth policy caused antipathy both in British and world public opinion.

The Ottoman Sultan, as well as his subjects, followed the war with interest. The Ottoman administration's attitude towards the South African War was very complex and nuanced. This lack of understanding of complexity was very evident amongst the pro-British Young Turks, particularly Ismail Kemal. Pro-British Young Turks and Ismail Kemal believed Britain was astonishing and was just the savior they needed. However, the relationship between Britain and Turkey was not on a friendly footing after the mid-nineteenth-century. Pro-British Young Turks did not understand how British-Ottoman relations had shifted. They were too simplistic and did not have an appreciation of the complexity that existed at the stage of the Anglo-Boer War.

⁴³⁸ Uçar, *140 Yıllık Miras Güney Afrika'da Osmanlılar*, 272.

⁴³⁹ Orakçı, "A Historical Analysis of the Emerging Links Between the Ottoman Empire and South Africa between 1861-1923," 67.

⁴⁴⁰ Y.A. Hus. 400/127; Uçar, *140 Yıllık Miras Güney Afrika'da Osmanlılar*, 272.

⁴⁴¹ Tandoğan, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Afrika'da Avrupa Sömürgecilğine Karşı Siyaseti (XIX. Yüzyıl ve XX. Yüzyılın Başları)," 121.

Kemal Bey was also a great opponent of Russia and regarded this great power, at the time, as the ultimate formidable enemy of the Ottomans. He gave memoranda to Abdülhamid, proposing a compromise with England against Russia.

CHAPTER 5.

Russian imperial ambitions in the Balkans and Asia Minor and Ottoman public opinion about it

Introduction

The last chapter discussed the stance of the pro-British Young Turks towards the South African War. The war revealed the extent of British propaganda being disseminated among the Anglophile intellectuals. They tried to shape Ottoman public opinion towards Britain. Presumably, these compliments and justifications of England in the war, were their way of seeking the assistance of Britain, especially against the persistent Russian Threat. There is no doubt that the greatest enemy and threat to Turkey was Russia, which saw herself as one of the great European powers from the seventeenth century on. The Ottoman Empire was weakened by the many humiliating wars undertaken against Russia. Ottoman intellectuals and politicians as well as the public, saw the faltering army of Turkey and the growing power of Russia. This situation had originated centuries earlier and caused antagonism towards Russia among the Ottoman people. Ismail Kemal, as a late Ottoman intellectual, expressed his fear of Russia and the Russian threat to the Ottoman Balkans in the preface to the English version of *Transval Meselesi* as well as in his memoirs.

Moreover, Russia and England were great rivals on the world stage throughout the nineteenth century.⁴⁴² Since Great Britain advocated the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, the pro-British Ottoman intelligentsia and politicians leaned towards England and against Russia. It can be said that fear of Russia became a great driving force in the Ottoman approach to England. In this sense, one can understand their inclination toward Great Britain, which was one of the contemporary superpowers, and away from Russia. Ismail Kemal said, Russia was the common enemy who threatened the British and Ottoman Empires 'to the same degree'.⁴⁴³ For him, when Great Britain lost prestige, the Ottoman Empire would lose power too, and the other way round. Because of this, England would decline if Russia took over Constantinople.⁴⁴⁴ The pro-British Young Turks and Ismail Kemal supported Britain blindly, seeking a force against Russia, the most powerful enemy of the Ottomans throughout the centuries. The Young Turks support of Britain in her struggle in South Africa should be seen in the light of the Ottoman trepidation about Russia's ambitions towards Ottoman territory, particularly Istanbul, the Bosphorus and Dardanelles.

⁴⁴² Barbara Jelavich, "British Means of Offense against Russia in the Nineteenth Century," *Russian History*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1974), 119.

⁴⁴³ *The Memories of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 150.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

In this chapter details of the history of Russia's spread over Ottoman territories is examined, in order to understand the escalating fear of Russia among the Ottomans. Also, the Ottoman public response towards the actions of the Russians in the Ottoman territories is evaluated.

5. 1. Reign of Peter the Great (1682-1725)

Russia was established by the Slavic tribes in the ninth century and was a landlocked state. She was trapped, stuck in between the glaciers to the north and the Black Sea, under the control of the Ottoman Empire, to the South. Russia sought access to the warmer waters from the eighteenth century. Russia's aspiration was to gain access to the Black Sea, Baltic and Caspian Seas, which were closest to her territories; then the warmer waters of the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf and the Pacific Ocean.⁴⁴⁵ It was essential to her becoming an imperial force with a voice in the world's politics of the time. Russia, therefore, pursued a policy aimed to sever the Balkans and Caucasus connections to the Ottoman Empire, in order to further expand into these regions.⁴⁴⁶

The originator of the policy to access warm waters was Peter Alexeyevich or Peter the Great. He undertook many reforms in Russia to develop his country as a powerful European state. Peter I wanted to spread his power over Ottoman, Polish and Swedish territories and enter the Mediterranean and the Aegean seas, after occupying Constantinople.⁴⁴⁷ For this purpose, the Holy Roman Empire, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Republic of Venice and Russia, together called the Holy League, went to war against the Ottoman Empire between 1683 and 1699. After sixteen years of war, the Treaty of Karlowitz (*Karlofça*) was signed in 1699, manifesting the first sign of Ottoman deterioration and the shrinking of her political sovereignty in central Europe. Since the Holy League ignored Russian interests, Russia later signed a separate treaty, the Treaty of Constantinople. This was signed in 1700 and the fortress of Azak (Azov) on the Black Sea was given to Russia. Thereafter, Russia could gain access to the sea. Russia also acquired a right to appoint an ambassador in Istanbul. At the time, ambassadors had a lot of power in the countries where they were stationed. Count B. C. Minnich, who was the intimate of Peter the Great, asserted in 1762 that: "From the moment of the first attack on Azov until the hour of his death, [Peter's] grand design ... had always been to conquer Constantinople, to chase the infidel Turks and Tatars out of Europe, and thus to

⁴⁴⁵ Erdoğan Keleş, "Rusya'nın Panslavizm Politikasının Balkanlarda Uygulanmasına Dair Bir Layiha," *Muğla Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi (İLKE)*, no. 21 (Fall 2008), 123,124.

⁴⁴⁶ Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Rusya Tarihi, Başlangıçtan 1917'ye Kadar* (Ankara: TTK, 2010), 154.

⁴⁴⁷ Keleş, "Rusya'nın Panslavizm Politikasının Balkanlarda Uygulanmasına Dair Bir Layiha," 124.

re-establish the Greek monarchy”.⁴⁴⁸ In this vein, he also aimed to establish a navy in the Black Sea.

Russia sent Russian Orthodox missionaries to the Balkans, which also had a population of Orthodox Christians, although Greek Orthodox. These missionaries started to imbue Serbians, Bulgarians, and Greeks with the ideas of rising up against the Ottoman rulers.⁴⁴⁹ Orthodox ethnicities, under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire, were susceptible to manipulation into favouring Russian geopolitical interests. The Ottoman Empire could not quite control the region at the time. The central power and authority of the empire in the Balkans were weakened. But Russia had great ambitions in the region. This is obvious in the instructions of Peter the Great to the first Russian ambassador sent in Istanbul, P.A. Tolstoy. Peter the Great entrusted the ambassador with the task of preparing an official and detailed report about the general situation, people, polity, bureaucrats, military posture, the situation of the fleet, relations with foreign states, military readiness and suchlike information about the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁵⁰ Peter the Great never took Constantinople. However, although it is uncertain whether Peter the Great instructed his successors, in his will, to take Constantinople, the Tsars and Tsarinas of Russia struggled to realize this ambition after him.

5. 2. Reign of Catherine II (1762-1796)

Subsequently, Catherine II or Catherine the Great dedicated herself to ‘destroying the Turks’. She wanted to get into the Black Sea, annex the Crimea and occupy the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, Constantinople and Aegean islands, with her ‘Greek Project’. The Crimea was an ideal stepping-stone to the ultimate conquest of Constantinople or Tsargrad as it was named by many Slavs.⁴⁵¹ Russia and Austria would share the territories of the Ottoman Empire. The Byzantine Empire would be created again under the crown of Catherine’s grandson. With this intention, she named her grandson Constantine, who was born in 1779, after the founder of Christian Constantinople. She sometimes called him Constantine II in her personal correspondences and he learned to speak Greek before Russian from his Greek nurses and tutors.⁴⁵² It can be deduced that Catherine II was over-ambitious about the territories of the Ottoman Empire.

The Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainardja or *Küçük Kaynarca*, which was the most crucial document in the history of Russian-Balkan relations, was signed after the Russo-Ottoman

⁴⁴⁸ Hugh Ragsdale, “Evaluating the Traditions of Russian Aggression: Catherine II and the Greek Project,” *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 66, no. 1 (January 1988), 93.

⁴⁴⁹ M. Hüdai Şentürk, *Osmanlı Devleti’nde Bulgar Meselesi (1850-1875)* (Ankara: TTK, 1992), 74.

⁴⁵⁰ Keleş, “Rusya’nın Panslavizm Politikasının Balkanlarda Uygulanmasına Dair Bir Layiha,” 124.

⁴⁵¹ Hakan Kırımlı, “Emigrations from the Crimea to the Ottoman Empire during the Crimean War,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 44, no. 5 (September 2008), 751.

⁴⁵² Ragsdale, “Evaluating the Traditions of Russian Aggression: Catherine II and the Greek Project,” 93.

War of 1768-1774. According to the treaty, Russia could open a consulate wherever she wanted to establish one in the Balkans and would be the protector of Christian minorities of the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁵³ This provision (Article VII) of the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainardja enabled a deepening of Russia's policy of manipulating the South Slavs in the Balkans. The right to message-handling via consulates was also given to the other European powers in time, and evolved into untouchable institutions. Foreign posts could not be pursued by the Ottoman government and many prohibited publications were smuggled to the empire.⁴⁵⁴

Furthermore, Russian merchant vessels could navigate between the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, a right which had been granted earlier to Britain and France.⁴⁵⁵ Russia henceforth could interfere in the foreign and domestic affairs of the Ottoman Empire. The Crimean Khanate also became independent politically and was the first step to the occupation of the Crimea by Russia which now became possible. Russia annexed the Crimean peninsula with the Treaty of Jassy (*Yaş*) in 1792, after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1787-1792, resulting in a predominantly Turkish-speaking-Muslim settled territory of the Ottoman Empire being lost for the first time. After Kuchuk Kainardja, the Ottoman Empire was rapidly losing its international prestige. She was one of the three biggest imperial states in the world, yet was forced to accept the superiority of the European states.

5. 3. The Crimean War of 1853-1856

Russia had recreated herself as one of the European powers by 1814. In 1853, Russia occupied the Ottoman territories of Wallachia and Moldova. Constantinople sent a diplomatic note to Russia demanding the withdrawal of the army in her territories in fifteen days, which was ignored. Subsequently, the Crimean War started in October, 1853. At the outbreak of the war, the Ottomans had some victories over the Russians in the Balkans, although the Ottoman fleet was sunk by Russia in the Black Sea and the direction of the war shifted to the detriment of the Ottoman Empire. Great Britain and France, who were concerned about Russian expansionism into Ottoman territories, waged a war against Russia. The Ottoman, British and French cooperation concluded with the Russian defeat.

In spite of the Ottoman victory, the empire was exhausted financially by war expenses. Foreign debt was taken for the first time, which would cause Ottoman bankruptcy eventually. The last payment of the foreign debt that was made in 1854 was paid as late

⁴⁵³ Joseph L. Wiczynski, "The Myth of Kuchuk-Kainardja in American Histories of Russia," *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 4, no. 4 (July 1968), 376.

⁴⁵⁴ Yazıcı, "Osmanlı'da Siyasal Muhalefetin Kurumsallaşma Süreci (1902-1909)," 70.

⁴⁵⁵ Jelavich, *Russia's Balkan Entanglements, 1806-1914*, 3, 4.

as a century later, in 1954. Then, the Ottoman Empire was put under a European protectorate. In fact, she had no place in the European balance of power. The Black Sea was neutralized, which meant no state could establish arsenals or fortifications on its coasts.⁴⁵⁶ Together with Russia, the Ottomans lost their right to have a fleet in the Black Sea.⁴⁵⁷ The war also revealed the weakness of the Ottoman army, compared to its modern European counterparts. The army was “poorly trained, poorly armed and poorly clothed.”⁴⁵⁸

The Ottoman Empire declared *Islahat Fermanı* (an Edict of Reform) towards the end of the Crimean War. The *ferman* was intended to prevent interference by the European powers in Ottoman internal affairs in favour of her Christian subjects. However, this foresight did not prevent European intervention and also caused discontent among the Muslim subjects of the empire.

With the Paris Treaty (1856), Russia had to recognise its defeat by the Ottoman Empire, France, and Great Britain. Nevertheless, Russia also warned the other European states that the Ottomans were strengthened and motivated to regain their lost power. After the Russian proposal to revise the Paris Treaty, the delegates of European states gathered and accepted Russian claims with the Treaty of London in 1871. Impartiality of the Black Sea was put aside. The Porte would open the straits during peacetime. The biggest obstacle to Russia’s spreading its influence over the Ottoman territories was now removed.⁴⁵⁹

5. 4. Pan-Slavism policy of Russia

After the mid-nineteenth century, Russia fanned the pro-Slav flame in the Balkans and acted a crucial part in the disorders in that region in the name of Pan-Slavism. On the other side, the Ottoman Empire was declining in the same century. Although the empire was still the dominant power at gunpoint, there was no respect from her subjects.⁴⁶⁰ Russia sought to complete the decline of the Ottoman Empire with her ‘historic mission’ in the Ottoman Balkans.⁴⁶¹ From the Crimean War (1853-1856) to the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, the main Russian foreign policy towards the Balkans was its pan-Slavic ideology.⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁶ Jelavich, “British Means of Offense against Russia in the Nineteenth Century,” 121.

⁴⁵⁷ Badem, *The Ottoman Crimean War (1853-1856)*, 403.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid, 408, 409.

⁴⁵⁹ Keleş, “Rusya’nın Panslavizm Politikasının Balkanlarda Uygulanmasına Dair Bir Layiha,” 130.

⁴⁶⁰ Barbara Jelavich, “The British Traveller in the Balkans: The Abuses of Ottoman Administration in the Slavonic Provinces,” *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 33, no. 81 (June 1955), 400.

⁴⁶¹ Michael T. Florinsky, “Russia and Constantinople: Count Kokovtsov’s Evidence,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 8, no. 1 (October 1929), 135.

⁴⁶² Aslı Yiğit Gülseven, “Rethinking Russian Pan-Slavism in the Ottoman Balkans: N.P. Ignatiev and the Slavic Benevolent Committee (1856-77),” *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 53, no. 3, 332.

Pan-Slavism primarily emerged among the Slavic people living under the dominance of the Ottoman Empire and Austria, with the nationalist ideas of the 1789 French Revolution, western romanticism, and German idealist philosophy.⁴⁶³ Slavic people thought that the Slav ethnicities were small and weak and in order to get a taste of liberation, they had to unite.⁴⁶⁴

Pan-Slavism evolved into a ‘political weapon of Tsarist imperialism’, particularly after the British and French collaboration with the Ottoman Empire in the Crimean War of 1853-1856.⁴⁶⁵ This consolidation inspired Russian nationalism and emotional collaboration between the Russians and Slavs living in south-east Europe.⁴⁶⁶ Many Russian publicists and statesmen regarded the British, French and Ottoman alliance as barring Russia from Europe.⁴⁶⁷

Most Pan-Slavs regarded the salvation of the southern Slavs from the Muslim yoke as uniting Slavs under the strict sway of the Russian Tsar.⁴⁶⁸ Pan-Slavs had advocated that Russia should dismiss Turks from Europe and found a Slavic state centred in Constantinople. Mikhail Petrovich Pogodin (1800-1875), a history professor at Moscow University, was a philanthropist and academic propagandist.⁴⁶⁹ He was one of the founders and the presidents of the Moscow Slavonic Benevolent Committee. In 1858, this committee was approved by Tsar Alexander II. The Moscow Slavonic Committee intended to assist “the southern Slavs to develop their religious, educational and other national institutions” and to bring young Slavs to Russia for education.⁴⁷⁰ Similar committees were also established in the forthcoming years. Pogodin also wrote a letter to the young Grand Duke Alexander Nikolayevich on Russian history in 1838, mentioning that Slavs could become powerful under Russian leadership. Grand Duke Alexander, assuming the title of Alexander II, became the ‘rescuer’ of Slavs living in Ottoman lands, forty years after that letter (1877-1878).⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶³ Michael B. Petrovich, review of *Pan-Slavism: Its History and Ideology*, by Hans Kohn, *The American Slavic and East European Review*, vol. 12, no. 3 (October 1953), 420.

⁴⁶⁴ M. M. Coleman, “Panslavism,” *Bulletin of the American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages*, vol. 6, no. 4 (June 1949), 103.

⁴⁶⁵ F. C. Weiskopf, “Pan-Slavism and the All-Slav Movement,” *Books Abroad*, vol. 18, no. 2 (Spring 1944), 201.

⁴⁶⁶ Keleş, “Rusya’nın Panslavizm Politikasının Balkanlarda Uygulanmasına Dair Bir Layiha,” 127.

⁴⁶⁷ Denis Vovchenko, “Modernizing Orthodoxy: Russia and Christian East (1856-1914),” *Journal of the History of the Ideas*, University of Pennsylvania Press, vol. 73, no. 2, (April 2012), 295.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid, 300-303.

⁴⁶⁹ Benedict Humphrey Sumner, “Russia and Panslavism in the Eighteen-Seventies,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 18 (1935), 28.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid, 29.

⁴⁷¹ Keleş, “Rusya’nın Panslavizm Politikasının Balkanlarda Uygulanmasına Dair Bir Layiha,” 128.

The Serbia-Montenegro rebellions in 1875-1878; the Bosnia-Herzegovina events in 1875; and the Bulgarian question in 1876, emerged as a result of the influence of the Russian-backed Pan-Slavist movements.⁴⁷² Nikolay Ignatiev, Russian Ambassador in Constantinople requested Russian intervention in the Serbian rebellion in Herzegovina in 1875. He anticipated that the rebellion would settle without European interference, through his relations with the Ottoman Sultan and Grand Vizier.⁴⁷³

5. 5. Foundation of the Bulgarian Exarchate

On March 1870, The Bulgarian Orthodox Church or Bulgarian Exarchate was founded by the countless efforts of Russian policy-maker Nikolay Ignatiev, ambassador to Istanbul from 1864 to 1877. An independent church meant cultural and legal autonomy at that time since it was the admitted religion, rather than ethnic minorities, in the Ottoman state system.⁴⁷⁴ Bulgarians, by means of this, separated from the Greek-Orthodox church in Istanbul and became bound to a Slav church whose guardian was Russia. The Bulgarian national movement gained momentum by this means. In 1875-76, Christian Serbians in Herzegovina and Montenegro, as well as Bulgarians, rebelled against the Ottoman government, causing ‘tyrannous’ Ottoman suppression.⁴⁷⁵ Pan-Slavs influenced the Russian government to wage war against the Ottoman Empire. With this indoctrination, Serbia and Montenegro, with Russia, declared war against the Ottomans in 1876. Russians stood at the very gate of Istanbul in Yeşilköy. The Ottoman Empire suffered heavy losses and Sultan Abdülhamid II was obliged to sue for peace. Due to the paternalistic superiority of the Russians, nevertheless, Russia’s great victory did not drive a consolidation of the Bulgarians and their Russian ‘rescuers’, but recrimination. As a consequence, this led to a breaking split between the Bulgarian Principality and Russia.⁴⁷⁶ To eliminate growing tension, the Russian Pan-Slav writer General Alexander Kireev published some articles that demanded that Russia give up her historical traditions. On the other hand, in his private correspondence with Nikolay Ignatiev, Kireev argued that Russian Pan-Slavs should continue secretly to convert all Slavs to Orthodoxy.⁴⁷⁷

5. 6. Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-1878

In 1877, the Ottoman Empire embarked on a war with Russia, which was one of the most humiliating and devastating wars in Ottoman history. This war was referred to as ‘*koca bozgun*’ (the great defeat) among the Ottoman public. One of the most important causes

⁴⁷² Ibid, 130.

⁴⁷³ Alexis Heraclides and Ada Dialla, *Humanitarian Intervention in the Long Nineteenth Century: Setting the Precedent* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 172.

⁴⁷⁴ Jelavich, *Russia's Balkan Entanglements, 1806-1914*, 208, 209.

⁴⁷⁵ Vovchenko, “Modernizing Orthodoxy: Russia and Christian East (1856-1914),” 304.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

of the war was Russia's Pan-Slavic policy in the Balkans. After the foundation of the Bulgarian Church, Russia distributed propaganda in the Balkans through the members of the church.⁴⁷⁸

The Treaty of St. Stefano, which concluded the Russo-Ottoman War, was signed in 1878. However, the treaty did not come into force because of the opposition of Great Britain, Germany, and Austria. These states strongly opposed the growing strength of Russia. Ismail Kemal accused the Ottoman administration of failing to avoid such a war with Russia. He also advocated the accommodation of England by the Ottoman Empire. According to Ismail Kemal, Russia gave an undertaking to England, at the outbreak of the Russo-Ottoman War: "to conclude the peace if Turkey asked for it, before the Russian armies crossed the Balkan chain, and not to occupy Constantinople".⁴⁷⁹ This further demonstrates why Britain was seen as a significant force assisting Turkey, in the eyes of many Ottoman intellectuals and policy-makers. England was regarded as a power able to stop the Russian threat against the Ottoman Empire, which was critical at that time.

Indeed, Russia later accepted the proposal of a new congress and the Treaty of Berlin was signed in 1878 between the Ottoman Empire, Russia, Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, France, Germany and Italy, as a result of which Serbia, Montenegro and Romania became independent. The Treaty of Berlin was the second great step that loosened the Balkans from the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire lost many territories after this treaty, such as Tunisia to France and Egypt and Sudan to England. They were all lost between 1881 and 1885.

Before assembling the Congress of Berlin in 1878, Abdülhamid II gave Cyprus to Great Britain as a way to get her support at the congress. According to the Cyprus Convention in 1878, England would support the Ottoman Empire if Russia occupied her territories in Asia Minor.⁴⁸⁰ Conversely, Great Britain would manage the island of Cyprus in the name of the Ottoman Empire, but the Ottoman Empire would be responsible for the institutions of religion, education, and justice.

On the eve of the First World War (1914-18), the greatest fear for the Ottoman Empire in the international arena was the Russian threat.⁴⁸¹ The only way to block Russia's plans seemed to be to make a security agreement with Great Britain and France.⁴⁸² The

⁴⁷⁸ Bolat, "1876-1914 Arası Osmanlı Devleti Dış Politikasının Genel Bir Değerlendirmesi," 16.

⁴⁷⁹ *The Memories of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 162, 163.

⁴⁸⁰ M. B. Cooper, "British Policy in the Balkans, 1908-9," *The Historical Journal*, vol. 7, no. 2 (1964), 258.

⁴⁸¹ Bayram Soy, "Birinci Dünya Savaşı Öncesinde Osmanlı Devletinin Büyük Güçlerle Yaptığı İttifak Görüşmeleri ve Savaşa Girmesi," *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 18 (Fall 2005), 166.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*

Ottoman Empire tried to secure close affiliations with many states at that time, but Russia was obviously never considered as an option for many Ottoman statesmen and elite class.

5. 7. The aggressive image of Russia among the late-Ottoman intelligentsia and politicians

The great defeats by Russia, and the diminishing empire, led to an antipathy against Russia among the Ottomans. This aggressive image, undoubtedly, had been generated through the centuries. For instance, according to Necip Fazıl Kısakürek (1904-1983), the famous Turkish poet and author, the sharpest example of antagonism between the nations of the world was the Turkish and ‘*Moskof*’ (Russian). History does not record such a strong dislike between any other states and societies. Compared to the conflicts between the other states, the struggles between the Turks and Russians were like the Himalayas, while the others were like molehills.

Kısakürek mentioned that the word ‘*Moskof*’ actually meant “*Moskof gavuru*” (infidel Russian) in Turkish slang. The faces of Russians were like a “peeled rotten potatoes” and their stare was vacant in the eyes of the Turks. The Turkish Military Academy and army troops had target boards with the “peeled rotten potato” and vacant stare Russian of faces in photographs, with their flat caps between *Tanzimat* (1839) to the World War I (1914).⁴⁸³ This important anecdote demonstrates the aggressive image of Russia in Ottoman public opinion.

Moreover, Peter the Great was known as ‘*Deli Petro*’ (Crazy Peter). He made many reforms in Russia and had built his country into a great European nation by the eighteenth century. Peter I was also the initiator of the expansionist policy over Ottoman territories. The reason for this nickname, given to Peter the Great by Turks, was presumably his foolhardiness or over-dependence on his reforms. This example also illustrates the Turks’ apprehensive dread of Russia.

The consecutive wars with Russia caused the corrosion of Ottoman power, so that the only means of getting out of the Empire’s plight seemed to be: “to have money as much as Britain, knowledge as much France and soldiers as many as Russia” according to Fuad Pasha (1814-1868), the Grand Vizier, as he noted in his testament.⁴⁸⁴

Ahmed Bedevi Kuran, a late-Ottoman intellectual, defined Russia as the ‘eternal enemy’ of Turkey.⁴⁸⁵ The Treaty of Karlowitz, signed with Russia in 1699, revealed the first sign of the disintegration of Turkey, as he expressed in his book *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda*

⁴⁸³ Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, *Moskof*, 5th ed. (Istanbul: Büyük Doğu Yayınları, 1995), 5, 6.

⁴⁸⁴ Yazıcı, “Osmanlı’da Siyasal Muhalefetin Kurumsallaşma Süreci,” 34.

⁴⁸⁵ Ahmed Bedevi Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İnkılap Hareketleri ve Milli Mücadele*, 894.

İnkılap Hareketleri ve Milli Mücadele. Rebellions started to arise among Ottoman subjects, resulting from the bad situation of the empire.⁴⁸⁶

Kuran also revealed a letter of Catherine the Great to one of her ministers, Prince Repnin. According to this letter, Catherine, who obliged the Turks to sign the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainardja in 1774, was very sad to hear of the death of the Ottoman sultan Mustafa III in 1774, since he was a mutton-head. Catherine also mentioned, in another letter, her apprehension about the progressive policy of Selim III (reign 1789-1807) right after his succession to the Ottoman throne. The Tsarina of Russia requested the Russian ambassador to Constantinople to constrain the Turks from restructuring the Empire by any means necessary. Otherwise, it would be a deathblow for Russia, and her plans with regard to Turkey would be over-set.⁴⁸⁷

Moreover, in 1800, Napoleon Bonaparte shared the Ottoman territories in a secret agreement with Paul I of Russia (reign 1796-1801). As Ahmed Bedevi Kuran put it, the aim of Russia, as he saw it, was to take over Istanbul and to rule the straits.⁴⁸⁸ Subsequently, Tsar Alexander I of Russia (reign 1801-1825) isolated the Ottoman Empire from the community of the European states at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, which was gathered to settle a long-term peace plan after the Napoleonic Wars. It was one of the signs that Alexander I also had no good intention (*hüsnüniyet*) to the Ottomans, the same as the other Russian sovereigns.⁴⁸⁹ Furthermore, Russians and Austrians were seditionists in the Bosnia-Herzegovina rebellions of 1875. The Austrian emperor and Russian Tsar even planned the division of the Ottoman Empire in 1876.⁴⁹⁰

On the other hand, to Kuran, Britain, and France were the Christian countries assisting Muslim Ottomans against ‘Christian Russia’ in the Crimean War. Moreover, Britain provided the Congress of Berlin in order to modify the Treaty of St. Stefano, which had extremely harsh provisions for the Ottoman Empire. The British safeguarded Muslim Turks against Christian Russians.⁴⁹¹

The original purpose of Great Britain’s support of the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire was political. In order to safeguard the security of the routes to India after its occupation in 1757, England was compelled to hinder the access of the other powers to the region. Because of the fact that the Ottoman territories were on the junction of these routes, Britain had a policy of defending the territorial integrity and political authority of the decadent Empire. The Anglo-Ottoman collaboration started in 1798 with Napoleon’s

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid, 21.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid, 93.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid, 28.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid, 35.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid, 87.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid, 212.

invasion of Egypt, then Mehmed Ali Pasha's threat in 1839-1841.⁴⁹² Then, Russia, Austria, and Germany held a conference to negotiate the current situation of the Balkans, in 1876, and sent a diplomatic note to Istanbul to order reforms in the region. However, Great Britain remarked that giving a note to a country for reforms did not accord with the sovereign rights of an independent state. London did not accept the note given to the Empire, for this reason and the note was rendered invalid.⁴⁹³

The Russian antagonism towards the Ottomans attracted even the attention of Britain. A report dated to 1911, in The National Archives in London, records that the Turkish press in Salonico, in contemporary Greece "indulge in the most violent language against Russia". *Silah* (weapon), whose editor was Hasan Tahsin or Silahçı Tahsin, a member of the CUP, published some articles "inciting war against Russia". Also, it included "insulting references to the Ambassador in Constantinople and Tsar himself". It published a list of volunteers for a special Legion for a war, which would be embarked on, against Russia.⁴⁹⁴

5. 8. Stance of Ismail Kemal against Russia

Ismail Kemal, who was an outstanding Anglophile, was an ardent antagonist of Russia. In 1870, he became the Turkish delegate to, and the president of the European Commission of the Danube. In a report to Sultan Abdülaziz about how to defend the Danube region against the Russian threat, he proposed an independent Romania, under the sovereignty of Great Britain.⁴⁹⁵ According to Ismail Kemal: "An independent Romania, united in a strong coalition with Turkey, would safeguard the latter from all danger of aggression on the part of Russia. It would bolt and bar the road to Constantinople."⁴⁹⁶ The political position of the Ottoman Empire would strengthen and any alliance of Austria-Hungary with Russia would be prevented.⁴⁹⁷

In his memoirs, Ismail Kemal made many analogies between Great Britain and Russia. He indicated, in his memorandum to Abdülhamid II, that the two great powers who were the most interested in the east were Britain and Russia. However, their political interests, as well as their way of defending those interests, were very different from each other.

⁴⁹² Mim Kemal Öke, "Professor Arminius Vambery and Anglo-Ottoman Relations (1887-1907)," *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, vol. 9, no. 2 (September 1985), 15.

⁴⁹³ Bolat, "1876-1914 Arası Osmanlı Devleti Dış Politikasının Genel Bir Değerlendirmesi," 18.

⁴⁹⁴ TNA, FO, No.51, 23775, 28, 29. 19 June 1911

TNA: T 230/580, Clarke to Hall, 'A policy for economic growth', 29 Mar. 1961.

⁴⁹⁵ *The Memories of Ismail Kemal Bey*, XXV.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 100.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 101.

Russia had an “eternal policy tending to the dismemberment of Turkey”, while England assured the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, apart from her own interests.⁴⁹⁸

Kemal proposed a plan to end the isolation of the Ottoman Empire in the international arena. The Empire had a choice, to have a consensus with either Russia or Britain, to put an end to its isolation in international politics. For Ismail Kemal, it was not possible for Turkey to compromise with Russia, since her growing desire to possess Constantinople had passed down, generation to generation.⁴⁹⁹ Furthermore, Russia had such a powerful naval force in the Black Sea as to be able to seize the Bosphorus and the Black Sea.

On the other hand, Great Britain needed the friendship of the Ottomans to secure her way to India and Australia, since her traditional policy was rather to have friends than to protect her route by arms and money. Turkey was the only possible guardian for Britain because of their reciprocal interests and the geographical position of the Empire. Ismail Kemal suggested to Abdülhamid, at this point, coming to an understanding with Britain. The empire would suffer if Britain were “forced to take measures to attain the security” which she needed, by other means.⁵⁰⁰

Since the Ottoman officials in the Balkans were monitored by Russia, their activities against Russian interests were criticised by that country. Ismail Kemal was accused of oppressing Christians and converting them to Islam by force when he was the governor of Tultcha (Tulcea in contemporary Romania). Defamatory articles against Ismail Bey were published in the French journal, *Courrier d'Orient*. Because of this slander by the Russians, he resigned the governorship of Tultcha.⁵⁰¹

5. 9. The Ottoman attitude towards the Russian Ambassador, General Ignatiev and the pro-Russian Grand Vizier, Mahmud Nedim Pasha

Nikolay Ignatiev (ambassador to Constantinople, 1864-1877) was regarded as someone who would like to devastate the Empire in the Russian interests. There is no doubt that he was highly detested by many among the Ottoman elite and statesmen. Furthermore, the Ottoman Grand Vizier Mahmud Nedim Pasha (reign 1871-1872 and 1875-1876) was blamed for his Russian sympathies. Nedim Pasha allowed Ignatiev's interference in state affairs, according to some Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals.

For instance, one of the prominent politicians of the Tanzimat Era, the Grand Vizier Âli Pasha (1815-1871) used to ask General Ignatiev about complicated domestic and foreign

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid, 212.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid, 215.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid, 87, 88.

matters. Ali Pasha, nevertheless, took decisions contrary to Ignatiev's opinions, since he knew that Russian interests were at cross-purposes with the Ottomans'.⁵⁰²

A late-Ottoman intellectual, Ahmed Bedevi Kuran (1886-1966), criticised the politics of the pro-Russian Grand Vizier Mahmud Nedim Pasha. To him, the foreign policies of Turkey were virtually directed by General Ignatiev during his Grand Viziership. Whereas Ignatiev was a Turcophobe to his bones, Mahmud Nedim Pasha did not comprehend or ignored this. The Russian ambassador fuelled the Bosnia-Herzegovina and Bulgarian revolts.⁵⁰³ The Grand Vizier's only thought was to please Ignatiev, who was self-interested.⁵⁰⁴

Ismail Kemal likewise gave harsh criticism in his memoirs of Mahmud Nedim Pasha and his policies. He claimed that the appointment of Mahmud Nedim Pasha to Grand Vizierate astonished everyone. According to his memoirs, Mahmud Nedim sought to gain favour with the Sultan Abdülaziz by satisfying, ironically, his 'love of money'.⁵⁰⁵ He obtained a large sum of money monthly by borrowing, at an overpriced rate of interest, from the bankers of Galata and paid this money Abdülaziz a share of the income.⁵⁰⁶

Kemal articulated that Mahmud Nedim Pasha followed a 'muddle-headed', 'stupid', 'blundering' 'noxious' and 'incoherent' policy.⁵⁰⁷ To him, the very first action of his as Grand Vizier was to exile or degrade all the ministers and governors who devoted themselves to the service of the Ottoman Empire. Pasha appointed new administrators to different positions continuously, which caused confusion and chaos.⁵⁰⁸ Mahmud Nedim destroyed within ten months all the worthy work of the empire that the former ministers had accomplished in thirty years. The empire drifted towards dreadful disorder and General Ignatiev, Russian Ambassador to Constantinople, became almost omnipotent at the palace.⁵⁰⁹

The Russian intrigues were effective mostly in Bulgaria, which included the Danube *Vilayet*. To Ismail Kemal, Midhat Pasha administered this region with perfect organization, with the aim of hindering any destructive plan of Tsarist Russia. Pasha's successors, who trained in his school, including Kemal himself, continued the work in the region. Nevertheless, with Mahmud Nedim Pasha's lack of policy as well as Russian

⁵⁰² Kocabaş, *Kendi İtirafı ile Jön Türkler Nerede Yanıldı? 1890-1918 Hayaller... Komplolar ... Kayıplar...*, 139.

⁵⁰³ Kuran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İnkılap Hareketleri ve Milli Mücadele*, 92.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid, 91.

⁵⁰⁵ *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, 76.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid, 76, 77.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid, 73, 83, 363.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid, 77.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid, 78

pressure, all the officials were dismissed except Ismail Kemal himself.⁵¹⁰ Mahmud Nedim, 'who was the evil genius of the Empire', operated everything on the inspiration of Ignatiev, who was 'preparing the last blow' against the Ottomans.⁵¹¹

Conclusion

From the beginning of the seventeenth century to the demise of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the World War I in 1918, Russia pursued a policy aimed to demolish the Ottoman Empire. These centuries witnessed a stream of wars, agreements, great human and financial losses for both sides and numerous territorial losses for the Ottoman Empire. Russia's basic mission was to gain access to the warm waters of the Mediterranean and re-establish the Eastern Roman Empire, centred in Constantinople or *Tsargrad* as it was called by many Slavs. Russia manipulated Pan-Slavism for the annexation of the Balkans, provoking the Balkan Orthodox Slavs against the Ottoman Empire. Many states were founded in the Ottoman Balkans with Russian incentives. Additionally, Russia made Crimea independent -which was a predominantly Turkic Muslim region- and then occupied it in order to gain access to the Black Sea.

The threat of Russia became the biggest fear for the Ottoman people and their leaders during the recession period of the Ottoman Empire. The great thrashing during the Russo-Ottoman Wars created an aggressive image of '*Moskof*' (МОСКВА from Moscow/Russian) which also meant 'infidel' to the Ottoman public. There was an enormous fear that the empire would break up if she could not defend herself against Russia. Also, until the mid nineteenth century, Great Britain had had a policy of support for Ottoman territorial integrity. The British fought with the Ottomans in the Crimean War (1853-1856). Moreover, she hindered the enforcement of the Treaty of St. Stefano, which was signed after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-1878. It is beyond doubt that British assistance to Turkey was due to her reluctance for Russia to gain strength. However, this consolidation was interpreted by the Ottoman elite and statesmen as traditional friendship and intimacy by the British. The Russian threat, lasting for centuries, caused them to move ever-closer to Britain.

Among the European powers, Russia showed sympathy with the Boers in government circles. Tsar Nicholas II had a deep-seated animosity towards England.⁵¹² The pro-Boer enthusiasm of the Russians originated in their British antipathy. In Russian eyes, a small number of Boers ventured to challenge their powerful common enemy. The Russian people, particularly rural Russians, empathised with the simple and God-fearing Boers

⁵¹⁰ Ibid, 78, 79.

⁵¹¹ Ibid, 107.

⁵¹² Fransjohan Pretorius, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*, 2nd ed. (Cape Town: Struik, 1998), 84.

who love the land. They sent funds and ambulance teams to the Afrikaner republics.⁵¹³ According to the most reliable publications, 225 Russian volunteers fought against the British on the Boer front.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹³ Ibid, 86.

⁵¹⁴ Apollon Davidson and Irina Filatova, *The Russians and the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902* (Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 1998), 45.

CHAPTER 6.

Analysis of Transval Meselesi

Introduction

This chapter is the main contribution of the thesis to the literature and focuses on *Transval Meselesi*. Written in 1900, it is the longest work of Ismail Kemal Bey (166 pages). This work is crucial to demonstrate the point of view of a prominent Ottoman-Albanian intellectual and politician about the South African War of 1899-1902. It is a good example to present the standpoint of the pro-British Ottoman intellectuals on British imperialism as well as the European colonialism in a broader sense. The pro-British propaganda among Ottoman intelligentsia for the South African War is addressed in this chapter. It shows the propaganda conducted by the pro-British Ottomans to justify the British policy in South Africa during the war. In this context, it is a contribution to the history of South African War, as well as the intellectual history of the Ottoman Empire.

The pamphlet was translated into three languages. The English version was published in one of the most influential periodicals in nineteenth century Britain, *The Fortnightly Review* with the title “*The Transvaal Question from the Mussulman Point of View*” (27 pages)⁵¹⁵. The French version was published as, *La Question du Transvaal ou le Role Civilisateur de l’Angleterre Juge au Point de vue Musulman* (61 pages).⁵¹⁶ This version was republished recently by Forgotten Books.⁵¹⁷ The Arabic translation, *Mas’ala al-Transfal* was made by a Young Turk in Cairo, Egypt (174 pages).⁵¹⁸ These translations demonstrate the importance of the work at the time.

This work is not used to explain the war in a military sense, but was rather a propaganda instrument to legitimise British imperialism. Ismail Kemal tried to convince the Ottomans of the legitimacy of the policies of London in the British colonies, including South Africa. Ismail Kemal explained his intention to write his pamphlet so as to animate the Liberal administration of the United Kingdom, when comparing it with other governments, particularly in Muslim countries. To him, England symbolised civilisation,

⁵¹⁵ “The Transvaal Question from the Mussulman Point of View,” *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. 69 (January 1901), 147-173. *The Fortnightly Review* was published between 1865 and 1954. It was the invention of Anthony Trollope. Its first editor was George Henry Lewes and subeditor was John Dennis. Then, it was incorporated into the *Contemporary Review*. The periodical was begun to be published online in 2009. see also; <http://fortnightlyreview.co.uk/about/>. Accessed 09 December 2018.

⁵¹⁶ *La Question du Transvaal ou le Role Civilisateur de l’Angleterre Juge au Point de vue Musulman* (Bruxelles: A. Vromant, 1901).

⁵¹⁷ *La Question du Transvaal ou le Role Civilisateur de l’Angleterre Juge au Point de vue Musulman* London: Forgotten Books, 2018).

https://www.forgottenbooks.com/fr/readbook/LaQuestionTransvaalouRoleCivilisateurdeAngleterre_10389627#0

⁵¹⁸ *Mas’ala al-Transfal*, trans. by Hoca Kadri Nasih (Cairo: Matbaa-i Osmaniye, 1901).

justice, education and freedom in all spheres of life, even though her primary intention was to secure her sea-routes for commerce. The other European great powers, such as Russia, Holland, and France, oppressed their colonial populations, which were mostly Muslim. Only Britain endeavoured to serve the benefit of humanity. Britain expanded her territories providing to increase the liberty and the civilisation of the world, so Kemal asserted.⁵¹⁹

It can be seen from the small print runs of *Transval Meselesi* that Ismail Kemal Bey tried to associate British imperialism with Islamism. Kemal argued the question raised by the South African War, from the point of the civilisation of Islam.⁵²⁰ To him, Britain had made a gigantic effort to enlighten Asia and the other continents. The oppressed people, particularly Muslims had to support British imperialism in order to reach their full moral and political potential.⁵²¹ Kemal interpreted a passage of the Qur'an to justify his claim for the constitutional government exemplified by Britain, such as: "Deliberate upon your affairs" (*Ali Imran*, 3/159)⁵²². He also recorded that Sinan Pasha, the Grand Vizier confessed to the Austrian Ambassador that "the English are so nearly like us that all they need, in order to be real Mohametans, is to acknowledge the *Chehadet* (a formula of the Mussulman creed)".⁵²³

Ismail Kemal wrote this pamphlet when England was heavily criticised by European public opinion, due to her severe strategies against the Boers. He expressed his astonishment at the judgements and criticisms by both the European public and official circles of the Transvaal question, despite the liberal policies of England. Furthermore, he stated that the European States were 'jealous' of Great Britain since she had created an immense empire with an admirable system of government and a formidable maritime power capable of defending her interests all over the world.⁵²⁴ Any state in the world could venture to show opposition to Britain, nevertheless the South African War demonstrated their real feelings about England.

In addition, he looked at the South African War as an influence on global politics. He analysed the impact that this war would have on the fate of Muslims and Ottomans. A British victory meant the progress of civilisation, according to him. A British triumph would assist the progress of humanity and open the way for the improvement of the eastern peoples.⁵²⁵ On the other hand, a Boer victory would mean that the civilisation of humanity would be prevented and the eastern peoples would enter condemnation. One of

⁵¹⁹ *Transval Meselesi*, 91.

⁵²⁰ *Transval Meselesi*, 9; "The Transvaal Question," 154.

⁵²¹ *Transval Meselesi*, 166; "The Transvaal Question," 173.

⁵²² *Transval Meselesi*, 128, 129; "The Transvaal Question," 169.

⁵²³ "The Transvaal Question," 150.

⁵²⁴ *Transval Meselesi*, 89; "The Transvaal Question," 164.

⁵²⁵ *Transval Meselesi*, 91.

these two opponents desired liberty, but the other captivity.⁵²⁶ The result of the war would decide the fate of the East. Either it would become enlightened and civilised, or servitude and darkness would dominate.⁵²⁷ Muslims and the Ottomans had to consider the outcome of the contest. They had to support Britain, whose tendencies and policies coincided with the religious and national interests of Muslims.⁵²⁸

Ismail Kemal gushed over his favourite country in his pamphlet. He described Great Britain as “the most resolute and faithful champion of liberalism”. To him, the British had “admirable proclivities” and always desired to enlighten every single society and nation with the glory of civilisation, as well as to strengthen every single continent and state with the power of justice. England was ready to struggle with tyranny wherever she met it and protect the oppressed people.⁵²⁹

He asserted that, unlike the other big powers, Great Britain did not acquire wealth by exhausting the countries she annexed. On the contrary, in order to increase their wealth, she made sacrifices. She sought power and wealth from the civilisation and prosperity of the others.⁵³⁰ Some people accused England of utilitarianism. However, to him England was praiseworthy, since she was able to combine her interests with the common benefits of the whole of humanity.⁵³¹ To him, the British Empire showed to mankind the real direction to progress.⁵³²

He characterised the Anglo-Saxons as a “divine class”. Kemal associated the British nation with the ancient Romans in terms of ensuring the progress of civilisation and bringing excellent liberty and justice. Both nations were superior to the other nations. However, to him, an Englishman could resemble the Romans, but could not be equated.⁵³³ These exaltations of the British provide a good clue to the stance of the pro-British Young Turks towards England and the British nation.

This chapter first looks at Ismail Kemal’s reasons for supporting Britain in the South African War. Then a comparison of the Dutch and the British occupations of South Africa, in the eyes of Ismail Kemal are examined. The historical information about South Africa given in *Transval Meselesi* is also analysed. The chapter investigates the comparison of the European powers’ administrations in eastern colonies from the stance of Ismail Kemal. The pamphlet is divided by subjects in order to comprehend the topics

⁵²⁶ Ibid, 91, 92.

⁵²⁷ “The Transvaal Question,” 164.

⁵²⁸ *Transval Meselesi*, 92, 93; “The Transvaal Question,” 164.

⁵²⁹ *Transval Meselesi*, 72; “The Transvaal Question,” 162.

⁵³⁰ *Transval Meselesi*, 73; “The Transvaal Question,” 162.

⁵³¹ *Transval Meselesi*, 73, 74; “The Transvaal Question,” 162.

⁵³² *Transval Meselesi*, 8; “The Transvaal Question,” 154.

⁵³³ “The Transvaal Question,” 139, 140.

with ease. The irrelevant parts, such as the facts about the Cape given in the pamphlet, are not included.

6. 1. The justifications of Ismail Kemal for the support of Britain

Ismail Kemal tried to create an image favouring Great Britain. He desired to justify British imperialism and her scorched-earth policy on her path to success. According to Kemal, all Muslims in the world should wish for British success in her struggle against the Boers in South Africa.⁵³⁴ The Ottomans owed a real debt of gratitude to the British.⁵³⁵ Wherever British blood was spilled, the Ottomans thrilled, as he expressed it. Especially, the Ottomans could not be unconcerned about matters which would enhance British power.⁵³⁶ He showed three reasons why the Ottomans had to support England against her enemies.

First of all, when the Britons “threw off the Papal yoke”, they attempted to establish close relations with Muslims. It was the most significant aim of British policy for three centuries.⁵³⁷ Secondly, Great Britain helped the Ottoman Empire against France and Russia. Kemal declared that there were two great alliances against Islam and the Ottoman Empire by Henry IV of France and Alexander I of Russia. The first attempt was prevented by Elizabeth I of England and the second by the Prince Regent, George of Hanover.⁵³⁸ Thirdly, Ismail Kemal referred the British assistance against Russia in the Crimean War of 1853-1856. To him, when the Ottomans see England in a struggle, they remember that the British “poured out their blood” and mingled it with that of Turkish soldiers for the Empire.⁵³⁹ The Crimean War also strengthened and declared the sincere friendship of the Ottoman Empire and Great Britain that already existed.⁵⁴⁰ Lastly, the mighty British Empire administered seventy-million Muslims liberally and humanely, under her direct control or her political protection.⁵⁴¹

6. 2. Historical information given in *Transval Meselesi* and the Boer ‘Atrocity’

Ismail Kemal gave some historical information about the occupation of the Cape of Good Hope. He asserted that John II of Portugal desired to annihilate the Muslims of the Barbarian coasts.⁵⁴² John II sent an expedition to African coasts, under command of Bartholomew Dias, in order to destroy Islam. This expedition reached first Benin, then

⁵³⁴ *Transval Meselesi*, 6,7; “The Transvaal Question,” 154.

⁵³⁵ “The Transvaal Question,” 154.

⁵³⁶ *Transval Meselesi*, 7.

⁵³⁷ *Transval Meselesi*, 2, 3; “The Transvaal Question,” 153.

⁵³⁸ *Transval Meselesi*, 4-6; “The Transvaal Question,” 153.

⁵³⁹ *Transval Meselesi*, 7; “The Transvaal Question,” 154.

⁵⁴⁰ *Transval Meselesi*, 80, 81; “The Transvaal Question,” 163.

⁵⁴¹ *Transval Meselesi*, 6; “The Transvaal Question,” 153.

⁵⁴² *Transval Meselesi*, 11.

the Cape of Good Hope.⁵⁴³ Subsequently, the British occupied the Cape temporarily in the name of King James I in 1620. Yet the land was abandoned until 1652 and the occupation of Jan van Riebeeck in the name of the Dutch East India Company (DEIC).⁵⁴⁴

The DEIC opened a branch and sent a hundred soldiers who had been mustered out of the army. Ismail Kemal described the first settlers in the Cape as ‘band’.⁵⁴⁵ They constructed a small fort and barracks where today’s ‘splendid’ city of Cape Town stands. In Ismail Kemal’s view, the Boers drove off the black people and stole their women, children, cattle, properties, and goods.⁵⁴⁶ They started to engage in agriculture. Their number increased continually in this new colony in the Cape with a few hundred orphan girls sent from Amsterdam, and after two years, adventurers from all over Europe and the French Protestant families (Huguenots), who escaped the oppression against them in France.⁵⁴⁷ As the early settlers spent most of their time with hunting the African people -whom Kemal described as ‘savage’- and wild animals, the DEIC later sent a number of shiploads of black slaves, -described as ‘Negro’ by Kemal- in order to meet their agrarian needs. In order to attract the attention of the Ottoman Muslims, Kemal also highlighted that a few thousand prominent Muslim families from the Sunda Islands were exiled to the Cape to serve them.⁵⁴⁸ The white colonists compelled them to perform the hardest work. In fact, they made Muslims their slaves.⁵⁴⁹

Ismail Kemal identified the Boers as ‘*tahrib-i memalike münhemik*’ which means, addicted to devastating countries and “ravagers of the country”.⁵⁵⁰ They do not have any grand thought, virtue or social ethics except the fanatical ideals of the middle ages.⁵⁵¹ Their cruelty was hardened by the feeling that they had left their homeland forever. They killed and took the children and confiscated the property of all the people who were not followers of their religion, without distinguishing native or foreigner, Pagan, Malay or Muslim. The ethical support of the Boers was the Scripture which they believed allowed them to shed blood and confiscate property.⁵⁵² Kemal asserted that the Boers annihilated all the tribes savagely including more than a million inhabitants in the Cape in one hundred and fifty years.

⁵⁴³ Ibid, 13.

⁵⁴⁴ *Transval Meselesi*, 16, 17; “The Transvaal Question,” 155.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁶ *Transval Meselesi*, 17.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid, 17, 18.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid, 18, 19; “The Transvaal Question,” 155.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁰ “The Transvaal Question,” 155.

⁵⁵¹ *Transval Meselesi*, 19, 20.

⁵⁵² Ibid, 19-21; “The Transvaal Question,” 155, 156; In fact, the early settlers used the Bible to legitimate enslaving people. For instance, “Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren” (Genesis, 9:25). Siwundhla, “White Ideologies and Non-European Participation in the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902,” 224.

Ismail Kemal touched upon the social life and administrative system of the Boers. He asserted that they lived an isolated life in which the spread of civilisation or education was impossible. Kemal despised the Boers as ‘peasants’. Their towns were large villages. None of them engaged in business or trade. They also did not allow the Muslims, the Chinese, the Indians, and the black people to own land, to carry arms, and have political and civil rights. They were not allowed to live in the same district with the Afrikaners.⁵⁵³

Presumably, in order to leave a negative impression against the Boers in Ottoman public opinion, he argued that Malay Muslims who were living well were also enslaved. He stated that since they became the slaves of ‘sanguinary’ people and some Muslims who used to live in opulence, had died with deep sorrow. The rest of them lost their language, tribal customs, and even their religious duties. They only cherished the memory of Islam by having Muslim names.⁵⁵⁴ Likely, so as to irritate the Ottoman Muslims about the Boers, he compared the Afrikaners with the Jewish people. To him, the Boers assumed an attitude similar to that of the Jews. Their leader, Pretorius, was the ‘David’ of the Boers.⁵⁵⁵

6. 3. Post-British occupation of the Cape and the Great Trek

Ismail Kemal explained the reasons for the British occupation of the Cape of Good Hope. He mentioned the geopolitical importance of the Cape for England and her sea-route to India. He claimed that Britain placed the black tribespeople and Java Muslims under the sovereignty of the Boers in heart-wrenching misery, when she occupied there a hundred years ago.⁵⁵⁶ The relationship between the Boers and the people under their authority was like the owner and slave, rather than the ruler and ruled. Kemal said that the first attempt of Britain to counter this oppression became the establishment of a government to provide the colonising people liberty in an absolute manner.⁵⁵⁷ This administration inhibited the oppression of the Boers and gave Muslims total freedom and equality. This government also recognised the humanity of black people. African people, who regarded the white man as a monster and bloodthirsty, resembled the whites humanly, culturally, religiously and ethically.⁵⁵⁸ They got used to the law and virtue of the white man. Every single person under the British rule attained this equality. Besides this, the Boers were forced to appreciate the honour of civilisation and the power of justice.⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵³ *Transval Meselesi*, 54-58; “The Transvaal Question,” 160.

⁵⁵⁴ *Transval Meselesi*, 22.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 44; “The Transvaal Question,” 158.

⁵⁵⁶ *Transval Meselesi*, 75, 76.

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 76.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 76, 77.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 77, 78.

Kemal Bey asserted that England desired to introduce civilisation into Africa. He illustrated the British occupation of the Cape as the start of the regeneration and civilising process in this continent. These lands the Boers destroyed were a cemetery and a hell, he alleged. It was such a miracle that England civilised the southernmost tip of the continent.⁵⁶⁰

Ismail Kemal characterised the abolition of slavery by Britain as “an eternal honour for England” which was an unprecedented practice in the history of the nations.⁵⁶¹ According to him, the British equipped the native Africans with humanity, civilisation, and piety.⁵⁶² This expression demonstrated his standpoint to non-western elements. To him, the British administration put an end to the ‘detestable’ management of the Afrikaners. As soon as the British settlement was established in the Cape, personal liberty was, as much as possible, granted to Malay Muslims and the black people who were employed in demanding jobs and had been deprived of all kinds of humanitarian law.⁵⁶³ Kemal, who was a vigorous advocate of constitutionalism, emphasised that England carried out constitutional government in the Cape Colony excellently.⁵⁶⁴

Ismail Kemal also mentioned that with the establishment of the British Cape Colony in South Africa, roads, bridges and railways were built and schools, mosques, churches, universities, libraries, museums, and big cities were established.⁵⁶⁵ South Africa was transformed from a savage land into a prosperous country.⁵⁶⁶

According to Ismail Kemal, the positions of Muslims in Cape Town and in the big cities were very eminent. Their schools and mosques were very tidy and the prosperity of the Muslim community was so increased that the demand for the conversion to Islam among the native Africans was increasing from day to day.

Kemal gave information about Petrus Emanuel De Roubaix, Justice of the Peace at Cape Town and the first Ottoman consul general in South Africa. According to him, the Cape Muslims called the attention of the British administration. Therefore, the British government appointed De Roubaix for the affairs of the Muslims. He worked for the honour of the Muslims with a great gravity and protected the Muslim interests. In a short span of time, the Muslim community held an outstanding position among the other communities. In return, the Cape Muslims wrote a letter to the Ottoman Sultan Abdülmecid appreciating the justice and prosperity shown by the British, as well as the

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid, 22, 23; “The Transvaal Question,” 156.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid, 27; “The Transvaal Question,” 156.

⁵⁶² Ibid, 31.

⁵⁶³ Ibid, 25, 26; “The Transvaal Question,” 156.

⁵⁶⁴ *Transval Meselesi*, 79.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid, 78.

⁵⁶⁶ “The Transvaal Question,” 162.

kindness and assistance shown by De Roubaix. The Ottoman Empire gave a big sum of money to De Roubaix for the expense of building a mosque in the city of Port Elizabeth.⁵⁶⁷

Due to the fact that the Cape Afrikaners, feeling rage towards Muslims, annoyed De Roubaix, his election to the Lower Chamber was hindered. However, after two years, he was elected to the Upper House at a by-election.⁵⁶⁸

Ismail Kemal also gave information about Abu Bakr Effendi, the Ottoman scholar sent by the Ottoman administration to Cape Town. He asserted that Great Britain sought to increase the prestige of the Ottoman sultan as the Caliph of Muslims as well as to strengthen the political power of the empire. For this reason, England requested a person from the *ulema* (scholars) for Muslims of the Cape. The religious and moral teachings of Abu Bakr Effendi and assistance of Emanuel De Roubaix in the Parliament enhanced the position of Muslims in South Africa and situated them in an enviable place, as he asserted.

To him, the Afrikaners, superior in numbers, belittled the reforms carried out by the British administration in the beginning. Nevertheless, the British immigrants increased in number; the black people who escaped to the high mountains from the ‘vexatious’ treatment of the Boers returned; and Malay Muslims adopted their innate supremacy within the humanitarian policy of England. The Boers had to give up their defiant attitudes and obey the new administration at least for some time.⁵⁶⁹

Ismail Kemal explained the reason of the Great Trek of the Afrikaners by the abolition of slavery by Great Britain. The Boers, unhappy with the British administration in the Cape, were unable to comprehend living upon an equal footing with their slaves whom they regarded as their personal property, he said. Many of them, except the ones who could bear to live as civilised, migrated to the north in order not to ‘civilise’ and not to accept the justice and humanity. They crossed the Orange River with their children, goods, and herds.⁵⁷⁰

He defined the Boers in *Transval Meselesi* as people who could not ‘forgive’ the British, since England equated the black man with the white man. Therefore, the most obstinate group crossed the Vaal River under the command of Hendrik Potgieter (1792-1852), the *Voortrekker* leader, in order not to see British faces.

⁵⁶⁷ *Transval Meselesi*, 80-85; “The Transvaal Question,” 163.

⁵⁶⁸ *Transval Meselesi*, 82, 83; “The Transvaal Question,” 163.

⁵⁶⁹ *Transval Meselesi*, 26, 27.

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 27-29; “The Transvaal Question,” 156.

Ismail Kemal also described the struggle of the Boers with the Matabele people in the Magaliesberg or Kachan and the Boer victory. According to him, the inhabitants of the region were treated roughly by the Matabele. The natives of the region received the Boers as liberators at first. However, the Boers took off their wives, children, properties, and cattle.⁵⁷¹

Kemal said that the Boers regarded the African continent as a kind of Promised Land and the African people as particularly created to be their servants. They considered the missionaries and the British, and traders from the other nations as objects of suspicion because of their intentions to make the 'Negroes' civilised and convert them to Christianity. The Boers held a grudge against them and obstructed the extension of trade, civilisation and religion as a religious duty.⁵⁷²

On the other hand, David Livingstone (1813-1873), a Scottish missionary, opened a school at Kolobeng (in today's Botswana). The teachers who were trained at this school were sent to the neighbouring areas to 'enlighten the Africans with the civilisation light'.⁵⁷³ Only the black people in the Transvaal, who were under the government of the Boers, were without this opportunity. According to Ismail Kemal, Livingstone demanded of Hendrick Potgieter that he remove this prohibition. However, Potgieter replied cynically that: "All that it was necessary to teach the Negroes was that they were born to be the slaves of white men".⁵⁷⁴

According to Kemal, for Britain, the only effective means to civilise the continent was the abolition of slavery and the development of commerce. However, the customs and principles of the constitution of the Boers obstructed this policy. There were two alternatives for England to remove the obstacles and introduce humanity to Africa: either totally to suppress the Boer government or to reform it. Britain had to choose the latter plan, since she was dealing with east-European affairs, which would soon lead to the Crimean War. Britain recognised the Transvaal as an independent state in 1852, with a convention signed between the governor of the Cape Province and President Pretorius. Subsequently, the Orange Free State was recognised as a Free State, with the condition of the abolition of slavery.⁵⁷⁵

6. 4. The causes of the South African War according to *Transval Meselesi*

Ismail Kemal asserted that after only a few months, the agreement was broken by the Boers. Pretorius asked the governor of the Cape, Sir George Cathcart (1794-1854) "what

⁵⁷¹ *Transval Meselesi*, 32, 33; "Transvaal Question," 157.

⁵⁷² *Transval Meselesi*, 34; "The Transvaal Question," 157.

⁵⁷³ *Transval Meselesi*, 34, 35.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 35; "The Transvaal Question," 157.

⁵⁷⁵ *Transval Meselesi*, 36-38; "The Transvaal Question," 157, 158.

was to be done about missionaries”, whereas the only obligation for the Boers to be independent was not practising slavery and not obstructing commerce. To Ismail Kemal, these two obligations were too much for them and they soon failed to keep their engagement. Cathcart replied to Pretorius: “You may do what you please with them.” This joke was taken seriously by Pretorius and he, with his four hundred armed men, attacked the Bechuanas, killed many people and destroyed the city of Kolobeng as well as the school founded by Livingstone. After his return from Caruna, Livingstone found his books and leaflets slashed and his schoolhouse, the town and its buildings destroyed. The parents of his pupils, whose children were enslaved by the Boers, were desperate. Livingstone narrated this disaster with sorrowful language.⁵⁷⁶

According to Kemal, because they had assured their independence, the Boers became arrogant. They expelled those Africans whom they could not make their slaves. They destroyed missionary institutions, while missionaries were bringing black people to the honour of humanity and showing them the means of self-defence. The Boers also expelled the British traders, desiring to establish business relations with them and the northern colonies.⁵⁷⁷

Ismail Kemal claimed that Britain assisted the Boers against the attack of Sekhukhune, Chief of a great native nation, in order to save the Transvaal and prevent imperilling the white inhabitants of Africa. Theophilus Shepstone, an English commissioner, unfurled the British flag in the Transvaal and claimed the country with the consent of Paul Kruger.⁵⁷⁸ According to Ismail Kemal, it is incontestable that the British intervention rescued the Transvaal. Nevertheless, three years later, the Boers rebelled against Great Britain despite her assistance.⁵⁷⁹

Kemal described the British defeat at Majuba Hill in his pamphlet. To him, Mr Gladstone, Prime Minister of Great Britain preferred to show moderation while General Wood was preparing for revenge. Otherwise, the powerful British Empire would defeat the Boers. The Transvaal Republic was acknowledged, with the agreement signed in 1881 under the express condition of the rule of Great Britain.⁵⁸⁰ Subsequently, with the political efforts of Kruger, the total independence of the Transvaal Republic was recognised by the agreement signed in 1884. Nonetheless, without the consent of Britain, the Transvaal Republic would not sign any agreement with any foreign power or any native chief except the Orange Free State. According to Ismail Kemal, the real conflict

⁵⁷⁶ *Transval Meselesi*, 39-42; “The Transvaal Question,” 158.

⁵⁷⁷ *Transval Meselesi*, 42, 43; “The Transvaal Question,” 158.

⁵⁷⁸ *Transval Meselesi*, 49, 50; “The Transvaal Question,” 159.

⁵⁷⁹ *Transval Meselesi*, 51.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 51, 52.

that led to the South African War was the interpretation of that clause of the agreement.⁵⁸¹

Ismail Kemal mentioned the deprivation of the political rights of the *uitlanders* by the Transvaal government. He said that the form of the government was republican. In order to be a President, an MP or a state official, one had to come from the Cape or have settled in the Transvaal before 1876 and had to be Protestant.⁵⁸²

According to him, the Transvaal was not an actual republic, in which the state was at the hands of President Kruger for nineteen years. Ismail Kemal reported that human rights were only for the whites and for those who had the same religion as the Boers, and that political rights were exclusively for their own race. To Ismail Kemal, one of the reasons of the conflict was that the Boers continuously denied the rights of other people who had different religious and ethnic backgrounds.⁵⁸³

Four-fifths of the *uitlander* population of the Transvaal was British-born and England could not be unconcerned about the practices of an arbitrary and retrograde government, as he claimed. Besides, the Boers had an extraordinarily rich country. However, they were formerly British subjects who had renounced her government. They also hindered British expansion and the civilising policy of England with every means at hand.⁵⁸⁴ To Kemal, the civilising process of Africa would be interrupted completely if the economic and political development of the Boers -fanatic and cruel inherently- were allowed. To him, England could not just give up her humanistic and progressive ambitions and intentions for Africa.⁵⁸⁵

According to Ismail Kemal, England claimed that all of the inhabitants of the Transvaal, including the blacks and *uitlanders*, should obtain the same political and civil rights as the Cape Afrikaners. This term, Kemal averred, was the term Afrikaner used to distinguish the Boers from the ones who left the administration of Britain, who were the British subjects.⁵⁸⁶

He claimed that the Muslims under the British sovereignty and the Muslim workers in the Transvaal mines, who were expelled by the Boers with the declaration of war, stated their readiness to fight against the Boers to Sir Alfred Milner, the governor of the Cape. To

⁵⁸¹ Ibid, 52-54; "The Transvaal Question," 160.

⁵⁸² *Transval Meselesi*, 58, 59; "The Transvaal Question," 160, 161.

⁵⁸³ *Transval Meselesi*, 61, 62; "The Transvaal Question," 161.

⁵⁸⁴ *Transval Meselesi*, 68-70; "The Transvaal Question," 161.

⁵⁸⁵ *Transval Meselesi*, 69, 70; "The Transvaal Question," 161, 162.

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid, 74, 75; "The Transvaal Question," 162.

him, Muslims said they felt that they were obliged to spill their blood in order to perform their thanksgiving to Britain for justice and liberty.⁵⁸⁷

6. 5. Comparison of British imperialism with other European imperialisms

In his pamphlet, Ismail Kemal Bey compared the British administration in Egypt and India with that of France in Algeria, and the Netherlands in Java and Sumatra, as well as South Africa. He wanted to make an analogy between the British and French, Russian, and Dutch rule in the countries where Muslim population existed.

Ismail Kemal alleged that the Ottoman-British relations were always on a friendly footing. Great Britain had recognised the importance of the Ottoman Empire for the last hundred years.⁵⁸⁸ England supported the integration of the Ottoman territory, as Ismail Kemal asserted. He indicated that British foreign policy had been shaped in compliance with the political existence of Turkey from the day the British statesman Lord Chatham (1708-1778) declared that “he considered as a lunatic anyone who denied this importance, and refused to speak to him”.⁵⁸⁹ The other great powers, Russia, France, and Holland, who had interests in countries where there were Muslim populations, were always hostile to the Ottoman Empire.

When Napoleon invaded Egypt, Britain attacked the French by destroying their fleet at Aboukir. Interestingly enough, Ismail Kemal claimed that the United Kingdom desired to maintain the sovereign rights of Turkey on Egypt, especially after the opening of the Suez Canal. Kemal also commented on one of the most crucial threats to Ottoman sovereignty, Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha. To him, Britain only assented to the hereditary succession in Mehmed Ali Pasha’s family, providing that Mehmed Ali and his successors would remain loyal to the Ottoman sultan.⁵⁹⁰ Then, France occupied Algeria and drove Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha into revolt against the Ottoman Sultan by giving him hope of occupying the Ottoman throne.⁵⁹¹ But Britain not only supported the Ottoman Empire with weak political assistance on the most important matter which threatened Ottoman existence, yet she appointed her representatives, officials and ambassadors for the assistance of the Ottomans.⁵⁹² England united Europe against Mehmed Ali Pasha.⁵⁹³ Russia did not want Pasha to gain strength due to her fear; “vivified by the fresh blood that would have been infused into it by the Egyptian conqueror”.⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁸⁷ *Transval Meselesi*, 87.

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 96; “The Transvaal Question,” 165.

⁵⁸⁹ *Transval Meselesi*, 117; “The Transvaal Question,” 167.

⁵⁹⁰ *Transval Meselesi*, 117, 118; “The Transvaal Question,” 167, 168.

⁵⁹¹ *Transval Meselesi*, 97, 98; “The Transvaal Question,” 165.

⁵⁹² *Transval Meselesi*, 98.

⁵⁹³ “The Transvaal Question,” 165.

⁵⁹⁴ *Transval Meselesi*, 99; “The Transvaal Question,” 165.

Ismail Kemal criticised the occupation of Algeria by France in 1830 and Tunisia in 1881, while advocating the annexation of Egypt by England in 1882.⁵⁹⁵ He made a great effort to justify the British occupation of Egypt. To him, as a matter of fact, Britain concentrated on Egypt and the Straits from the beginning of the eighteenth century, and British annexation of one of the most crucial of Ottoman possessions was ‘friendly’ interference. The authority of the Ottoman Caliph over Egyptian Muslims remained intact after the British occupation.⁵⁹⁶ To him, it was indispensable to ally and be in accord with England for the existence of Egypt as a Muslim state, and for the influence of the caliphate in this country.⁵⁹⁷ Kemal confessed the real intention of the British annexation of Egypt was for the development of trade and to secure her sea-routes. Nevertheless, her occupation was a real advantage for the Muslim world as much as the real benefit of securing the existence of the Ottoman Empire. Britain brought liberty to Egypt. Constitutionalism began in this country with the British occupation. The “moral laws, civil rights and individual liberty” as well as freedom of thought and speech, liberty of the press were implemented definitely in Egypt.⁵⁹⁸ Egyptian Muslims were still wearing the Fez.⁵⁹⁹ On the other hand, France desired to eliminate all authority of the Ottoman Sultan in Africa, as well as to demolish the domination exercised by the caliphate over the Muslims on the continent.⁶⁰⁰

Ismail Kemal astonishingly claimed that only France intervened in the Greek War of Independence and annihilated the Ottoman fleet in Navarino in 1827.⁶⁰¹ In fact, the attack in Navarino bay was a British-French-Russian collaboration. There was a great role and interference of the United Kingdom in the Greek cause.

According to Kemal, during the Crimean War of 1853-1856, the United Kingdom notified France and Austria that she would continue to ally with the Ottomans against Russia if a peace treaty were not signed. Thereupon, the Treaty of Paris was signed with the great assistance and persistence of Britain. To Kemal, interestingly enough, Napoleon Bonaparte proposed to the British cabinet the annexation of Tunis, of Tripoli to Piedmont, of Morocco to France, and of Egypt to Britain even before the ink dried upon his signature on the agreement. This guaranteed the territorial integrity of Turkey. However, Lord Palmerston, the British Prime Minister, wrote a letter to Napoleon stating that:

⁵⁹⁵ *Transval Meselesi*, 119; “The Transvaal Question,” 168.

⁵⁹⁶ *Transval Meselesi*, 128; “The Transvaal Question,” 169.

⁵⁹⁷ *Transval Meselesi*, 127; “The Transvaal Question,” 169.

⁵⁹⁸ *Transval Meselesi*, 129; “The Transvaal Question,” 169.

⁵⁹⁹ *Transval Meselesi*, 130, 131; “The Transvaal Question,” 169.

⁶⁰⁰ *Transval Meselesi*, 123; “The Transvaal Question,” 168.

⁶⁰¹ *Transval Meselesi*, 97; “The Transvaal Question,” 165.

...more than one country—Italy, Spain and Sicily—for example, would be prosperous if it were united to France, England or Piedmont. What constituted the validity of the understanding between France and England was not so much the co-operation of their fleets as the effect produced by this understanding, which showed to the world that it was based upon moral laws, and had for its goal resistance to unjust aggressions, the liberation of the oppressed from the hands of their oppressors, and the preservation of the political equilibrium of the states.

Ought we, then, to renew the proceedings employed by others for the partition of Poland? And if so, what right could be invoked by France and England for seizing the Sultan's African possessions when they had just defended the integrity of his Empire?⁶⁰²

Nevertheless, Ismail Kemal seemed to be blind to the international politics of the states. Lord Palmerston, to whom Kemal narrated the words in his pamphlet, had a quote on the politics: "Nations have no permanent friends or allies, they only have permanent interests." This demonstrated Kemal's lack of comprehension or ignorance of the British foreign policy towards Turkey.

Ismail Kemal also interpreted the lack of *de facto* assistance from Britain as to British public opinion against Turkey, after the Bulgarian revolt of 1876.⁶⁰³ This interpretation also demonstrated the lack of his comprehension for the switch of British foreign policy towards the Ottomans, after the last quarter of the nineteenth century, which was discussed in the previous chapter.

To him, Russia tried to attract the support of Britain by offering her Egypt and Crete. However, England did not accept the Russian proposal.⁶⁰⁴ Consequently, Russia decided to demolish the Ottoman Empire without the assistance of any power, since Britain hindered any Russian-French collaboration as well.⁶⁰⁵ Russia, therefore, attacked the Ottoman Empire with diplomatic notes and caused revolts of the Greeks in Crete and the Slavs in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Britain used all her influence in the Ottoman favour in both questions.⁶⁰⁶

Ismail Kemal asserted that Great Britain already knew that the Ottoman Empire would be alone, even after the reforms compelled by the European powers. Britain tried to eliminate Russia to gain strength against the Ottoman Empire. British efforts for Turkey reached such a point, the European press lampooned the British administration and the

⁶⁰² *Transval Meselesi*, 104-106; "The Transvaal Question," 166.

⁶⁰³ *Transval Meselesi*, 109.

⁶⁰⁴ *Transval Meselesi*, 100, 101; "The Transvaal Question," 165.

⁶⁰⁵ *Transval Meselesi*, 107.

⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid*; "The Transvaal Question," 166.

British nation, with words such as: “almost became Indian”, “Islamised”, and “preferred the cross to the Muslim turban”.⁶⁰⁷

According to Kemal, the Ottoman administration thoughtlessly rushed into a fatal war despite the English advice not to take part in such a struggle with Russia. This was a big political mistake which history never could explain. To Kemal, a possible conflict was already prevented by England with the London Protocol in 1877. Even the outcome of the Russian-Ottoman war was only an Ottoman fault. Britain made Russia pledge not to occupy Constantinople, Egypt, the valley of Euphrates and Basra; Russia would accept the offering of Turkey if the Ottomans sued for peace before the crossing of the Balkans by the Russian force. Ismail Kemal verbalised the vital assistance of Britain as: “We tremble in thinking of what would have happened if England, before and even during the hostilities, had not succeeded in rendering impossible the disappearance of Turkey as a result of this war.”⁶⁰⁸ According to Kemal, the Ottoman administration was unsuccessful in getting the edge on this situation. England kept Russia out of the Bosphorus. The Ottomans, however, would always remember with gratitude the British aid to Turkey, with her fleet in Constantinople’s waters, its cannons pointed at the Russians; and the cancellation of the Agreement of San Stefano which meant the destruction of the Empire.⁶⁰⁹

According to Ismail Kemal, British India was also an example for the liberation and civilising process. Apart from material well-being, moral and intellectual development of the Indian people was provided as well. Roads were built and big cities were established in India. Britain also spread education all across the country.⁶¹⁰ Under the Liberal government in India, Muslims could make religious propaganda, as Ismail Kemal alleged. For instance, a Muslim converted two hundred thousand Hindus to Islam. There were particular pulpits for the preaching of Islam in the major towns such as Calcutta and Bombay. Many Europeans also came to listen to the preachers. Every year from fifty-thousand to six-hundred-thousand people converted to Islam. Over the last decade, the number of the converts exceeded three-million. These convenient conditions for the propagation of Islamic faith in India pleased Muslims all over the world.⁶¹¹

Ismail Kemal highlighted that, indeed, France had to be the guardian of liberty and the opponent of despotism. Notwithstanding this, the great power of Europe had a great desire for the destruction of the caliphate.⁶¹² Algerian Muslims were deprived of equality and liberty. For instance, Algerian people did not enjoy political rights and were excluded

⁶⁰⁷ *Transval Meselesi*, 110, 111.

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 111-113; “The Transvaal Question,” 166, 167.

⁶⁰⁹ *Transval Meselesi*, 113, 114; “The Transvaal Question,” 167.

⁶¹⁰ *Transval Meselesi*, 137; “The Transvaal Question,” 170.

⁶¹¹ *Transval Meselesi*, 146-148; “The Transvaal Question,” 171.

⁶¹² *Transval Meselesi*, 150, 151; “The Transvaal Question,” 172.

from involvement in local government.⁶¹³ The central and municipal administration was exclusively restricted to Frenchmen. There was no newspaper published in Arabic, other than the government journal, which was devoted to official matters.⁶¹⁴ The French authorities appropriated the lands from Algerians to give them to the French. Ministerial officers seized houses and properties. All the mosques, schools, and *waqf* (charitable foundation) revenues were confiscated by the French administration. Kemal also asserted that the French administration in Algeria wanted to make Algeria a French territory and a Christian country. To him, the French thought that Arabs were in the last stage of depravity and Islam was a hindrance to the progress of civilisation. The French did not try to attach the Algerian people to the soil, but rather supplanted them by Europeans, as Ismail Kemal asserted.⁶¹⁵

Ismail Kemal referred to the Dutch administration briefly on the other continents. To him, Holland did not take into consideration the progress and development of the people in her dominions. Moreover, the Dutch colonial administration held the people, who were almost entirely Muslim, under the unbearable yoke of a state monopoly, acquiring the products of their labour.⁶¹⁶

According to Kemal, it would be idle to explain the Russian threat to people who were not Slavic and not followers of their religion.⁶¹⁷ To him, if Russia moved towards to the South with her imperialistic ambitions, it would be inevitable she would invade the Muslim people in her way. If, one day, Russia were to occupy India, the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, it would be the end of the Ottoman Empire, Persia, and Afghanistan.⁶¹⁸

Ismail Kemal also asserted that the Boers related to the Russians. He highlighted the fact that hundreds of conservative Boers attempted to aid Russia in the Crimean War. The Boer objective was to rescue the Holy Land and to devastate the Muslims. On the other side, England defended Turkey in the war. To the Boers, Muslims were the “enemies of their religion”, while the British were “the allies of these same Mussulmans”.⁶¹⁹

Conclusion

Ismail Kemal Bey of Vlora penned *Transval Meselesi* when Britain was heavily criticised by the European and the Ottoman public. Kemal Bey aimed to give support to England in

⁶¹³ *Transval Meselesi*, 158, 159; “The Transvaal Question,” 172.

⁶¹⁴ *Transval Meselesi*, 157; “The Transvaal Question,” 173.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid*, 173.

⁶¹⁶ *Transval Meselesi*, 163, “The Transvaal Question,” 173.

⁶¹⁷ *Transval Meselesi*, 161.

⁶¹⁸ “The Transvaal Question,” 173.

⁶¹⁹ *Transval Meselesi*, 43, 44; “The Transvaal Question,” 158.

that critical time. He endeavoured to justify British imperialism in South Africa as well as in the other British dominions, such as the most crucial one, India. Ismail Kemal asserted that England brought civilisation and progress to the African continent, which the Boers wished to obstruct. In this context, it seems that Ismail Kemal tried to ingratiate himself with England for his goals, for British interference in Ottoman internal politics and for the Albanian cause.

He tried to justify British imperialism all over the British dominions, within the context of the government of the Cape Colony in South Africa. For this reason, he undertook to establish a connection between British imperialism and Islamism, since his audience was almost entirely Muslim. He tried to persuade the Muslim Ottomans to request the support of Britain. Kemal claimed that everyone, particularly Muslims, had to wish Britain success in her struggle against the Boers in the Transvaal. The reasons for this support were the Liberal Party administration in England and British aid to the Ottoman Empire in the political arena, especially against the Russians in the Crimean War.

According to Ismail Kemal, Muslims under the other European powers were oppressed, while Great Britain helped them to arrive at their moral and political potential. In this case, he showed his choice of the British imperialism among the other European Great Powers, such as France and Russia. He asserted that a British victory would open the way to illumination in the East, and meant the Muslim world, while a Boer success would cause a darkness on the continent.

In writing this pamphlet, he presumably aimed to form an alliance between Turkey and Great Britain. The Ottoman Empire was alone in the international arena at that time. England was one of the biggest contemporary superpowers. Thus, Ismail Kemal Bey solicited the support of Britain against the other European Powers in the era of colonialism. His other intention in writing this work was probably to get assistance to form an independent Albania. As a matter of fact, after a decade, he declared the independence of Albania. The Albanians were the only nation in the Balkans without the support of a great power.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The main contribution of this thesis is to show the extent of pro-British propaganda conducted by the Ottoman intellectuals in the Ottoman Empire, about the South African War (Anglo-Boer War) of 1899-1902. It highlights the roles of certain Ottoman intellectuals and Ismail Kemal of Vlora. This study makes a contribution to late-Ottoman intellectual history, by looking at the standpoint of the Anglophile Ottoman intellectuals on the South African War, in light of the study of one of the most eminent Anglophilic intellectual, Ismail Kemal. It also contributes to South African history by examining an aspect of propaganda in a minor war in South Africa.

The Ottomans were aware of a struggle in South Africa, despite the distance of the region from the Ottoman territories. However, the concern of the pro-British Ottoman intellectuals about the South African War was mainly unrelated to the war itself. Instead, it resulted from the fact that one of the two fighting forces was British. Besides this, the study also reveals the power of the anti-Boer propaganda conducted by the British during the South African War.

Ismail Kemal wanted to establish an alliance with England and therefore, he blindly supported all British endeavours, including Britain's involvement in the South African War. He did not fully comprehend Britain's position towards the Ottoman Empire. He either could not understand, or ignored, the changing power structures of the last decades of the nineteenth century. Thus Ismail Kemal's views on the South African War were enormously problematic, in addition to being one-sided.

Presumably, in writing a piece on the Anglo-Boer struggle, Ismail Kemal aspired to make an analogy between the Transvaal and the Ottoman Empire. This had become one of the most debated questions among Ottoman intellectuals in the last decades of the Empire. The Ottoman Empire was the 'sick man of Europe' at that time and there were great discussions about its destiny. Many Ottoman intellectuals regarded a British mandate, in particular, to be a means of salvation. By giving examples from the point of civilisation and progress in *Transval Meselesi*, he probably intended to indicate the plausibility of a British mandate. Britain would bring civilisation and freedom while her enemy would convey vulgarity instead. According to Ismail Kemal, the British Empire had the highest position among the colonial powers.

Ismail Kemal was also a reformist and liberal intellectual, and wanted to gain support from Britain for a constitutional monarchy in the Ottoman Empire. Unlike the minority groups, the pro-British Young Turks sought British intervention in Ottoman politics, opposing the 'despotic' Sultan Abdülhamid II. They saw, in England, the most libertarian state in the world.

It is likely that another target of Kemal's seeking of British support was British assistance for the independence or autonomy of Albania within the Ottoman Empire. There was a real danger of partition of ethnically Albanian territories, among newly-established Balkan states. The only ethnic group in the Balkans who could not get support from a great European Power, during the nationalist era, was Albania. Ismail Kemal sought British aid for the Albanian cause by using his network among English statesmen.

This study also demonstrates the aggressive image of Russia in the minds of Ottomans. The late-Ottoman intelligentsia realised the superior power of Russia and the aspirations of this strong state, throughout the nineteenth century, to acquire Ottoman territories. Dread of Russia was one of the strongest driving forces behind the inclination of the pro-British intellectuals and policy-makers, towards the United Kingdom.

The foreign policy of Great Britain towards Turkey was another key point in the British bias of some Ottoman intellectuals. Against the appetite of Russia for the Ottoman territories, British policy-makers supported the territorial integrity of Turkey. The Crimean War of 1853-1856 also secured the friendship of the Ottomans to Britain. In the opinion of the pro-British Ottoman intelligentsia, Turkey was indebted to England.

It can be understood from this work that the pro-British and the pro-Boer propaganda campaigns in other countries, during the South African War, can be studied. This kind of research will surely make a great contribution to the knowledge of the foreign propaganda created during the South African War. In addition, the viewpoint of the pro-British Ottoman intelligentsia on British policies at that time could be studied in future research.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I. Photos of Ismail Kemal Bey Vlora (1844–1919).

Appendix II. *Transvaal Meselesi*. Istanbul: Matbaa-i Osmaniye, 1900.

Appendix III. *Transvaal Meselesi*. Istanbul: Matbaa-i Osmaniye, 1900.
(transcription)

Appendix IV. “The Transvaal Question from the Mussulman Point of View.” *The Forthnightly Review*, vol. 69 (January, 1901), pp. 147–173.

Appendix V. *La Question du Transvaal ou le Role Civilisateur de l’Angleterre Juge au Point de vue Musulman*. Bruxelles: A. Vromant, 1901.

Appendix VI. Front and back cover of *La Question du Transvaal ou le Role Civilisateur de l’Angleterre Juge au Point de vue Musulman*. London: Forgotten Books, 2018.

Appendix VII. *Mas’ala al-Transfal*. Translated by Hoca Kadri Nasıh. Cairo: Matbaa-i Osmaniye, 1901.

Appendix VIII. Map of Southern Africa in 1899.

Appendix IX. The first page of *Afrika-yi Cenubi Muharebesi* (The South African War) of Mahmud Muhtar Pasha. Istanbul: Matba‘a-i Ebu’z-ziya, 1901.

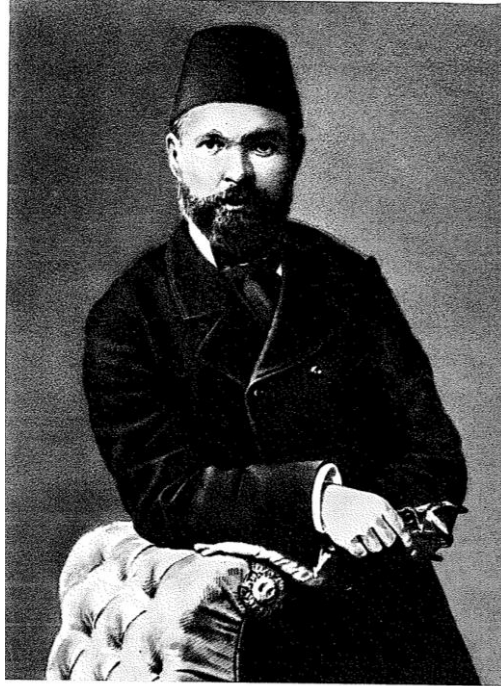
Appendix X. Medallion of Major Aziz Bey given by British Queen Victoria

Appendix XI. “A Turk Disappears: Ismail Kemal Bey, Newly Appointed Official, Takes to Flight,” *The New York Times*, 02 May 1900.

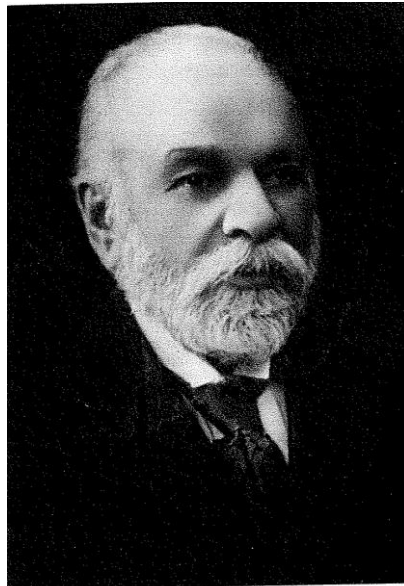
Appendix XII. *Şehbal*, no. 14 (14 October 1909), 272.

APPENDICES

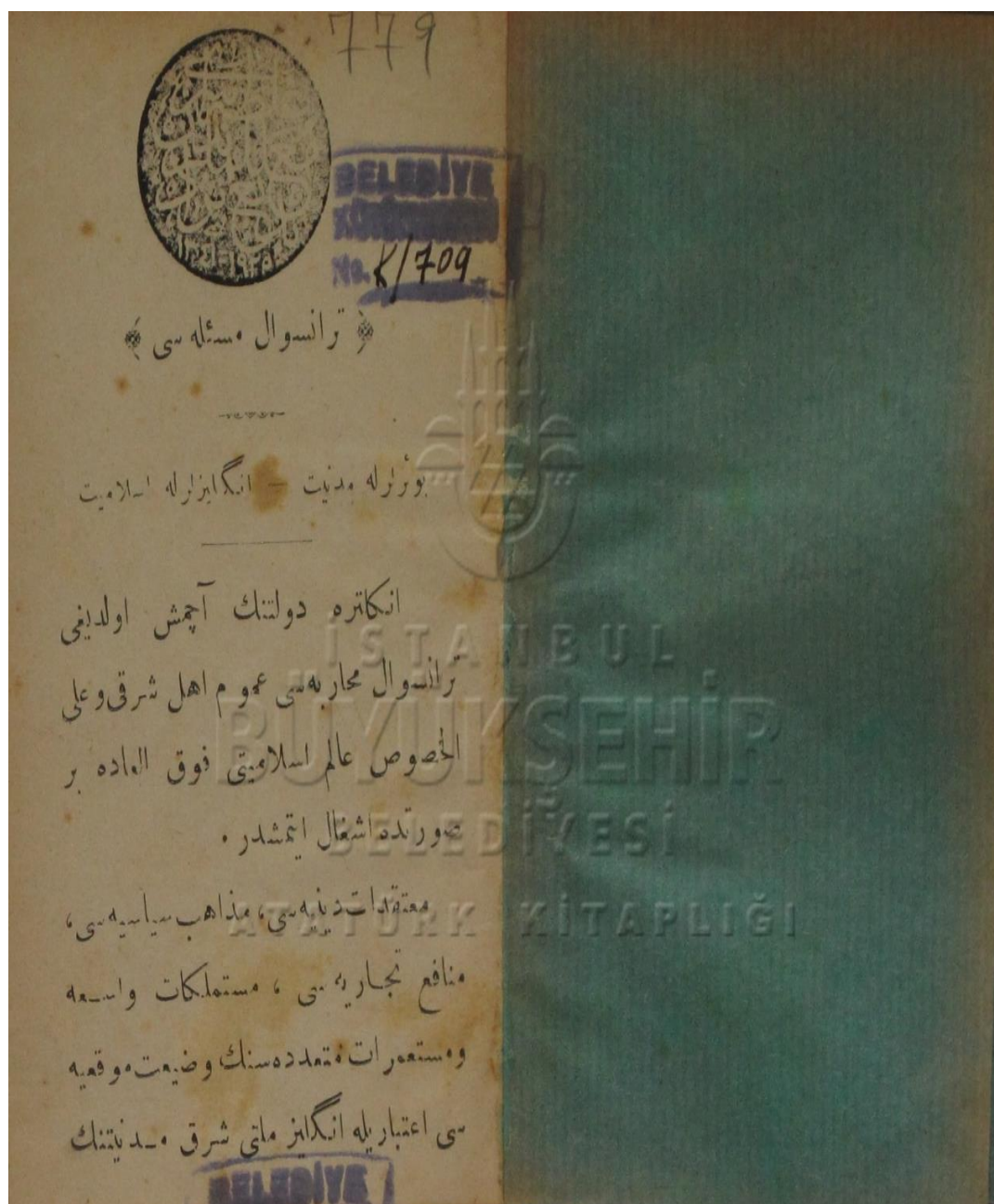
Appendix I. Photos of Ismail Kemal Bey Vlora (1844–1919).



ISMAIL QEMALI



Ismail Kemal



اعادة علويتنه ، اقوام اسلاميه نك اتحاد
واتساع قدرتنه خادم اوراق همچون من طرف
الله يراداش بر قوه محرکه ، بر نفخه فائضه
صاييله بيلور .

انگيزماني پاپانك ربه تحمكى قوپاروب
آتدينى وانگيزيسيون كانون جانسوزيك
محصولى اولان زنجير اسارتى قيروب
مليونلرجه نفوس بشريه نى اسپانيانك قيد
اسارتندن قورتاردىنى گوندنبرو عالم
اسلاميه تقرب ايتك ، شريفه حالا و اداره ،
حكما و قوه موازنه عالمك مدار استقرارى
اوله بيله جك بر هيئت قويه نك تشكانه ،
بر دوات مستقرله نك تاسنه چالشمق مسلكنى

اختيار ايتمش و اوچ يوز سنه در بومسلك دائره
سنده حركتدن آيرلماشدر .

سلاطين عثمانيه نك استانبول ، پاي
تحت سلطنت و مركز خلافت اتحاد و چرخ
اداره عثمانيه نى آوروپا ، آسيا و آفريقا نك
قطعات مهمه و ممتازه سندن تشكىل ايدن
سپه اوزريته ايجاد ايتكاه برابر موازنه
عموميه عالم اوليله بر انقلابه دوشورلمشيدى كه
بتون آوروپا حاكمدارانى تحت و تاجلرينى
تهاكمده گورمكله محافظه قوميت آرزوسى
و غلبان تعصب سايه سيله عموم دول
غريبه ناشر اسلاميت نظريله باقدقلى
دولت عثمانيه علمينه بر ايكنجى اهل صليب

قيامنى حاضر لامشيدى .

دور استيلانك انتهاى و دور انحطاطك
ابتدائى اولان ايتنه بخى مغلوبى گوندن
(ناوارين) هزيمت بحريه نى گونه قدر
اولان ايتكى عصرلى بر مدت ايتده اسلاميتى
احيا و درات عثمانيه نى الفا ايدده جك بر
اتفاق عمومينك حصولنه ايتكى دفعه تشبث
اولمشدر .

برنجى دفعه سنده سلاطين عثمانيه نك
مظاهرت و محاببتى ايتساب سايه سنده
فرانسه نك حيات سياسيه نى تأمين ايتمش
وسنه لرحه امرى آتنده بواند بربلان ترك
قوه بحريه سنك بخى ايتديكى نفوذ

واقتمدارك تاثيريله خصما سنه غالب گامش
اولان دردنجى هنرى عموم اقوام مسيحيه
دن مركب بر جمهوريت عظمى تشكىلى
و دوات عثمانيه نك وجودنى اراله و عناصر
اسلاميه نى سوروب آسيا چولارينه دفعه
مقتدر اوله جق بر قوه جنوديه مختلطه نك
ترتيب و سوقنى تشكيل ايتمشدر .

(دردنجى هنرى) نك فرانسه منافع
خصوصيه سيله تاليفى قابل اوليان و عاداتا
كفران نعمت اطلاقه شايان اولان
بو تصورينك قوده قالمسنه سبب معهود
(راواياق) لك ضربه دستى دگل قرالچيه
(اليزابت) لك اشتراكدن امتناعى اولمشدر .

ايكنجى دفعه سنده ايسه روسيه
ايمپراطورى (برنجى علىكساندر) اتفاق
مقدس عقد ايتمكه عبنى مقصدى تعقيب
ايتمشكن انگلتره نائب قرالى (جورج) ك
وضع امضادن اجتنابى بو اتفاقك ثمره دار
اولسنة مانع اولمشدر .

شواحوال تاريخيه وانگلتره نك گر ك
اداره سنده وگر ك حمايه سياسيه سنده
بولندي دينى ايتمش مايونى متجلوز نفوس
اسلاميه قارشى اتخاذ ايتديكى مسلك
دنوازانة و ابراز ايلديكى حساسيات
حريته ورانه دنيا نك هر جهتده بولان اغل
اسلامى انگلتره يه دائما متوجه اولمغه

وانگلتره نك هر حال ومحلده موفقيتنى تمنى
ايتمكه مجبور ايلمشدر .

هله عثمانيلر انگلتره نك ازدياد قدرته
خادم اوله حق مسالده هيچ بروقت بيگانه
قاله مازلر، دنيا نك هانكى جهتده انگليز قانى
دوكولسه عثمانيلر در حال تهيجه گلور .

وطنم نك عزى ز طوپراغنى محافظه ، دولتم نك
مقدس حقوقنى مدافعه اوغورنده دوكلكش
وعثمانلى شهداسنك قابيله قارشمش اولان
انگليز قانلرينك خاطراتى گوزمزاو كنه
گلور . او خاطر انك تضمن ايتديكى تخيلات
اميدبخشا تخطر اولنورده شانلى ماضيمزه
نظر مفخرت ، اقبالى استقبالمزه نگاه

امنيت ايله باقى ايسترز .
انگلتره نك آفريقه جه اولان تصورات
مديتجويانه وتشبثات تعالى پرورانه سنده
حائل اولمق استيان بو شرارمنك بدایت
حريده ابراز ايتديكى شجاعت ومنات
هر كسك حس تقديرى تحريك وانگلتره
نك احراز ايتمش اولدينى موقع اقتداوى
چكه ميائلر ، خصوصيله تكملات مليه لر
انك زوالندن بكيايلر انگلتره نك زوال
وانحطاطنه مقدمه اوله رق بوئرلك موفقيا .
تنى تمنى ايتمشدر .

بز ايسه بتون انسانيتك شهراه ارتقاسنى
آچمق و بر قاچ يوز ميلون ابنای بشرى

يداداره و تربيه سنه آلمق گي شانلى بر موقع
اقتداره مثلى گورولمشمش بر قوت وشو كته
مالك اولمش بويله بر ملت معظمه نك عاقبت
وانجامنك كشفنى كتاب علم ايزانك صحائف
مستوره سنى كشاد ايلمك قدرت ومزيتانى
حائز اولان زمانه تعاقيله مسئله نك مدنيت
واسلاميت منافعنه تعلق ايدن جهتلرندن
بخلكه اكتفا ايلرزم .

اندلس دولت اسلاميه سنك انقراضى
خرستياناق علمنى استيلاى اسلاميت اندیشه
سندن مصون بر افش واقوام غريبه نى فوق
العاده بر مسرت وشطارت ايچنده
بولنديرمش اولدينى بر صيره ده فاتح سلطان

محمد مرحومك مدنيٲ عيسويەنك منبع
ضيا پاشى وخرستيانلق اداره روحانيەنك
ايكنجى مركزى اولان قسطنطيني فتح
ايمى بتون آوروياني عظيم بر دهشته
دوشورمشيدى .

باشلر ندىپايا اولديني خالدە عموم حكمدارن
وروساي اقوام استيلاي اسلاميە سىد چكە
يىلمك چارەسنى آراشدير مغه قالقشديقلى
زمان بر چوق كشفيات بريە و بجرى ايله
اشتهار ومستملىكتى توسيع ايله كسب
اقتدار ايلەش اولان پورتىكيز قرالى ايكنجى
(ژوام) دخى اسلامك دفعە مضرتى اسبابنك
استكالى آرزوسنه دوشەش وبر طرفدن

سواحل بر بريەدە بولنان عناصر اسلاميەنك
احسانە وديگر طرفدن آفريقانك ايچ
طرفلر ندىه واقطار شرقيەدە مسلمانلغە دسترن
خصوصت اولە يىلەجك بر يار مظاهرت
كار تحريسنە قالقشەشيدى .

ذاللا هندستان دىصفت روحانيە وقوۋ
جسمانيەنى حائر بر يىواك حكمدارك وجودى
صروى ايكن آفريقانك سواحل نىريەسنى
كشفت ليدن پورتىكيز امراى بجرىەنك
وخصوصيە (بنى) حاكى طرفندن مبعوثا
كلان سفرانك ويرديكى معلومات واخبا
رات بوروايتى برقات دها ئايد ايلەشيدى .
بو معلومات واخباراتە نظرا (بنى)

دن يكرى آلىق مسافەدە واقع اولان
بر مملكت حكمدارينك حائر اولدينى قوۋ
روحانيە وجسمانيە حيثيلە عموم آفريقا
حكمدارانك مرجى وصندالى حكومتە
يكى قەود ايدن آفريقا حاكمرينك حق
سلطنتى تصديق ايلديگنە علامت اولن
اوزردە تاج وعصادن ماندا برده دلب
گوندرمسى دلانيلە كندرسنك دىل
عيسوى يە . انسوب اولدينى اكلاشديقندن
بو حكمدارك قرال (ژوام) ك بر چوق
وقتەنبرو ايشتديگى وكال تەالكلە . ناسبت
كسب ايتك ايشتديگى (پردست زانى)
يەنى پاپاس يانينك اولە جفندە شپە

قلاماش ودر حال بر هيئت كشفيه ترتيب
اولنەرق آلنك مملكتى ومقر حكومتى
كشفت اولنق ايچون (بار تادؤدياز) نامندەكى
آمر مشهورك ادارهسى تحمندە اولەرق
ميلادك (۱۴۸۶) سنەسنى اغستوسسندە
سوق اولمشيدى .

ايشتە مسلمانلى رفع وازالە ايتك
چارەسنى آراشديرىق مقصديلە سوق
بولتىق بو هيئت كشفيه طوغرى (بنى)
واروب آلدن صوكرە آفريقا سواحلى
تقيب ايدەرك واثناى سفردە انواع
مشكلات ومخاطراتە اوغرايەرق عاقبت
آفريقا مەشكك راس زاوبەسنى تشكيل ايدن

ورونه واصل اولمشیدی .

هیئت کشفیه دریانک شدت تلاطمندن
بیامش و قردنک منظره دغراشدن
وسکانتک وحشت طبعندن اورکش
اولدیندن ایرویه گیمکه جسارت ایتیموب
وکشف ایتدیگی بونقطه مهمهیه (بلا بورونی)
اسمنی و یروب عودت ایتمشیدی .
قرال (ژوام) مقصدینه تمایله
ایرمدیگندن متأراواش ایسه ده بلا بورونی
امید بورونه تحویل الیکنجی هیئت
کشفیه ترتیب ایتمشدی که حلول اجلی
مناسبتله خافی طرفندن مشهور (واسقوده
غامما) نك ریاستی تحتنده اولدینی حالده سوق

اولتمشیدی .

(واسقوده غامما) پك چوق مشکلا تدن
صکره امید بورونه واصل اولمش و سیر
وسفره دوامله برنجی دفعه اوله رق (ناتال)
تسمیه ایلدیگی سواحلیده کشف ایدهرک
اولجه عربلرک استیلا و تمدین ایتدکاری
آفریقاسو آحل شرقیه سنه اوغرایه رق
واوردن دأما هنده گیدوب گامکه آشمش
اولان ملاحین عربدن بر قاچ قلاغوز
آله رق نهایت هنده واصل و بو صورتله
عرب و شرقی مواردات بحریه سیچون
بر شهره عظیم کشاد ایلمک گبی برفوقیت
عظایه نائل اولمشیدی .

امید بورونک اهمیت موقعیه سی
فوق العاده اولدینی حالده تاریخ کشفندن
بر بحق عصردن زیاده بر مدت ایچنده
هیچ کیمسه رغبت ایتمامشدر . آرد صره
گلان گچن ملاحین وضع یده قاتقشمش
و (۱۶۲۰) سنه سنده انگلیزلر قرال برنجی
(ژاق) نامه امید بورونی اشغال ایتمشلر
ایسه ده تکرار چکیلوب ناهولان دالیدلر اشغال
ایدنجهیه قدر اورایی متروک قالمشیدی .
هولاندانک هند شرقی شرکی
معاملات تجاریه سنی و مواردات بحریه سنی
نأمین و تمهیل ایدرک بر مرکز مبادله
وبر مستعمره قویه بولندیرمق اوزره

(۱۶۵۲) تاریخنده دوققور (وان ربه یك)
نامنده انتخاب ایتدیگی بر رئیس عائله سی
خلق ویوزقدر عسکر افراد مستبدله سی ایله
امید بورونه اعزام ایتمشیدی .
بو شرزمه امید بورونه آباق باصمه سیله
برابر همان تحصن ایده بیلمک ایچون قوری
دیواردن بر قلعه جک و اطرافنده شمیدیکی
(قاب تاؤن) شهرینک بولندینی محله بر قاچ
عادی باراقه انشا و اطرافنده بولنان قبائل
زنجیه یی اوروب املاک و اموالی غصب
ایدهرک واله کچیره بیلدکاری افراد قبائی
اسارته آله رق یرلشمکه وزارت و فلاحته
مباشرت ایلمشیدی . آرقه لرندن آستردام

يديم قيزلارندن برقاچ يوز قيزدخي گوندرلش
وبو مستعمره نوزادك دوام تناسلي تايمين اولند.
يني گي برطاقم آوروپا - بر سر ريسي وفرانسه.
نك پروتستانلر حقننده گوستردىگي تضديق
اوز ريتنه ترك ديارده مجبور اولان فرانسه
پروتستانلارندن برقاچ يوز عائله اميد بوروننه
گيدوب هولانداليره التحاق ايتمش
وبو سايلهده مستعمره نك نفوسى آز مدت
ظرفنده گرگي گي نكتر ايلمش السيهده
بونلر اكتر اوقاقي آفريقا نك انسانى
وحيوانى اولامقله گچير دكارندن احتياجات
زراعيه لريني دفع ايتك ايچون شركت
رفندن برقاچ گمي يوكى اسراى زنجيه سوق

وهولاندا حكومتى جانبدندن ده (سوند)
جزاير جسيمه سى اهالى مسلامه سنك
متجيزانندن برقاچ بيك عائله نفى وتغريب
صورتيله اميد بوروننه اعزام اولمش وبو
شرزمه خد متكارلق وقولاق ايتك
وظيفه سيله مكلف طرولميشيدى .

قبائل زنجيه ايچون جلاد قضا ، واو
احوالى ايچون سيل بلا اطلاقنه مستحق
اوله حق درجهده سنك دمابه وتغريب
ممالك مهمك اولان بو بوئر گروهى ذانا
قرون وسطانك محصولى اولان تعصبات
دينه ومنافقات ومصادمات خونريزانه.
نك خاطراتندن بشمه بر علويت فكريه

وبرصريت يا حسن سيرته ملاك دگل ايكن
وطن اصليلارندن محروميت ابديه نك تاثيراتى
ووطن اوله رق اختيار ايتدكلى مملكتك
غرايت احوالى وسكانك وحشت اوضاعى
خشونت طبعلرني برقاتدها تزويد ايتمش
وتنوير وجدان ايچون اوقويه يلدكارى
كتب مقدسه نك كندولرینه مخصوص
آيت وخصوصيله قصص نبي يوشى بدرقه
حرکت عدايتش اولدقلارندن يرلى ، يانچي ،
ملائى ، زنجي ، دينسى ، ياكندى دين
ومذاهبلارندن غيرى دين ومذبه تابعه
قدر انسان وارسه جمله سنك قانى هدر
وماللى حلال ييلهرك منفردا ، يا مجتمعا هر

آردهده بر ذى روجه تصادف ايتسه لر تيغ
خونخوارلارندن گچيرمگي ومذبح خنجر
بى امانى اولان ييكارجه مادر وپدرك اغوش
خون آلودندن دوشوب قالان صيبانى پنجه
اسارتة آلوب حيوان گي قوللانغى رضاي
بارى يه موافق بر عمل عدايدهرك تفاخر
ايدرلردى .

شو خشونت ووحشتك حكمة فرما
اولدينى بر بچق عصراق مدت ايچنده
اميد بورونى مستملكه سنى تشكيل ايدن
قطعه جسيمه نك حاوى اولدينى اون قدر
قوم وقيله وانلرك جامع اولدينى بر مليون
قدر نفوس بشريه كيا محو و نابيد اولميشيدى .

هله بچاره (ملائى) مسلمان متحيزانى
وقتيله هر برى بر قاچ خدمتكار قوللانمغه
وانواع نازو نامله عمر گچيرمگه آلهش
ايكن بويله بر طاقم خونريزانك اسيرى اولمق
بختسز لغنه او غراميله بر طاقى شدت نأثرله
اولوب گيتمش وقلانرى اسانلرينى ، عادات
قوميله رينى وحتى فرائض دينيله رينى غائب ايد
رك يالكر مسلمان اسمنى طاشيم قله اصللرينى
ودينلرينك خاطراتنى محافظه ايد بيلمش
ايشته آفريقاي جنوبينىك (بوئر)
دينلان مخلوقك جولانكاهى اولان جهاتى
عمومى بر مقبره وير يوزنده بر زخدن نمونه
اوله جق بر خرابه حالته گيرمش ايكن

انگلتره اداره سنه گچمش واو تاريخدن
اعتباراً آفريقا قطعه سنك احوال مدنيه سى
وحتى دنيا نك معاملات سياسيه سى بر دوره
تجدد و تكمله گير مشدر .

انگلتره هند مستملكات جسيمه سنك
مواردات بحريه سنى و بحر محيطه بحر
هنديده بولندير دينى قواى بحريه سنك
مواصلت و ارتباطنى تأمين ايد بيلمك ايچون
اميد بورونى اشغال ايتك احتياجى چوقدن
جس ايتش وحتى (۱۷۸۰) تاريخند، بر
دو نمداخى سوق ايلمش ايسه ده فرانسه
دو تماسنك حرباً واقع اولان ممانعتى و فرانسه
عسكرينك اميد بورونندهكى هولاندايلاره

التحاق و معاوتى جهتيله ير اشمكه موفق
اوله مامشدى . فقط فرانسه نك دائماً آتش
محبى سربع الاشتعال اولدينى گي سربع
الانطفاده اولدينندن آرد دن آز بر مدت
گچر گچمز دونه قدر مستملكاتنى محافظه
ايچون انگلتره يه قارشو حربيه قالقشان
فرانسه هولاندايى كاملاً يد ضبطنه
گچورمش اولديندن انگلتره بوحالدين
واميد بورونتك ايچ طرفلر نده بولنان بوش
لك عصيانندن بالاسطفاده (۱۷۶۵) سنه
سنده بر دو نمدا گوندر وب اميد بورونى
اشغال ايلمشدر . (آينس) معاهده سى
انگلتره نى اميد بورونى بطاويا حكومتنه

رده مجبور قيلمش ايسه ده آنك حكيميك
آز سورديگندن و (ويانه) معاهده عموميه
سى انگلتره نك حق تملكى تصديق
ايلديگندن اميد بورونى اوتاريخندن برو
انگلتره مستملكه سى اولمشدر .

انگلتره اداره سى يرلشور يرلشمن
بوئرلك معاملات غدارانه سنه و تخريبات
متواليه سنه نهايت وير ملك طيبي ايدى .
ابتدا حيوان گي خدمات شاقه ده استخدام
اولنان و هر درلو حقوق انسانيه دن محروم
طوتيلان ملائى مسلمانلرينه ويرلى زنجى
اسرا سنه حرىت شخصيه نى ممكن مرتبه
تأمين ايد بيلمك بعض مساعدات گوسترلمگه

باشلاش-شیدی . بوئرل کثرت نفوسارینه
گووونه رک انگلتره اداره سنک اصلاحات
وتکلیفاتی نظر استخفافله تلقی ایتک
ایسمش ایسه ده بر طرفدن انگلیز مهاجر .
ینک کلیله گلوب یرلشمسی دیگر طرفدن
جبال مرتقمهیه قاجوب جانلرینی بوئرلک
تیغ خونخوارندن قورتاره ییلان آفراد زنجیه .
نک انگلتره اداره سنک عدالتسه امنیت
ایده رک آقین آقین گلوب النجا ایلمسی وملائی
مسلمانلارینک ده مظهر اولدقلری عدالت
وصیادتدن بالاستفاده علویت فطریه لرینی
صافقوب عادتاً انگلیزلرک قوه الظهری
حکمه گیرمسی بوئرلک حرکت سرکشانه

لرینی تعدیله ودائرة انقیاده گیرمکه مجبور
قلمشیدی .
بوئرل ذاتاً انگلیز اداره عادل سنک
یرلشمسندن وادامق یولنه گیرمک مجبوریته
دوشمسندن منفعل اولوب طوررکن
انگلتره پارلامنتوسنک یگریمی یون انگلیز
ایرالق برفدیة عظیمه نیک تخصیصیله دی یوز
اللی بیک نفوسه بالغ اولان اسرایی عمومأ
ودقیقه انتاق ایتک کبی تاریخ امدده مثلی
گورلمهش بر اثر جواغردی تشکیل ایدن
ودنیا طور دجقه انسانیتک نظر تقدیر
وتقدیسنه مظهر اوله جق اولان برقراری
قبول واعلان ایتسی مال منقول بیلدکاری

انسانلری اسیر اوله رق قولانمقدن محروم
اولدقلرینی آکلادقلرندن ودونه قدر
کوله لری اوله رق قولاندقلری آدم لره حال
مساواتده یشامنی خوصله لرینه صیغدره
مدقلرندن آرتق باشلرینی آلوب آفریقانک
ایچرولرنده حاللرینه مناسب بشقه بر
جولانگه آرامق سوداسنه دوشوش
واچلرندن قوانین مدنیت تحتیده یشامنه
قاتلامش اولانلر مستثنا اوله رق قسم کلیدی
چولق چوجقلرینی وحیوانلرینی آلوب اید
بورونک جهت شمالیه سنده کی ممالکه
طوغری روان اولمشلردی .
ایکی عصره یقین مدت ایچنده اقامت

ایدوب وطن اتخاذ ایتدکاری بو دیاری
مجرد دائرة مدنیته گیرمامک وقوانین عدالت
وانسانیتی قبول ایتمامک ایچون ترک ایدن
بوئرل بر قاج سنه اول قوراقلق مناسبتیه
حیرانلرے یایدیرمق ایچون مواقعی
بیلدکاری (اورانژ) نهرینک اوتجه تهرینه
گچمش و (پیترتیف) ی رئیس طانیه رق
گوچه حالنده یرلشمکه و (قافر) قبائلک
تعرضسندن مصون اولمق ایچون آنلرک
بولندقلرے طایفه یشامنه قرار
ویرمشیدی . انگلیز مأمورلری آرقه لرینی
تعقیله هر زرده بولنه جق اولسه لر دائرة
تبعیتدن چیه میه جقلرینی بیلدیردکلرندن

بر قسمی انقیاد ایتش و دیگر قسمی اورا
سنی ده براقوب شماله طوغری گیتمشدی.
{دارکن برکن} سلسله جبالنک تپه لرینه
طوغری گیدنلر (زولو) قبیله سی حاکمی
{دینگان} ایله اویوشه رق طاغک اوتیه یوزینه
گچوب یرلشمش ایسه ده (دینگان)
بونلرک کلیت اوزره یرلشموندن نوهم
ایدرك اراضی تحدید و تخصیص ایتک بپانه.
سیله بر محله دعوت ایدرك اوزر لرینه هجوم
ایتش و اکثری سنی اتلاف ایلمش اولدینی
حالده بقیه سیوفی تحصن ایده رك یرلشمش
ویواش یواش کسب قوتله {دینگان} ی
موقع اقتداردن دوشوروب قرداشنی

حاکمیته گچوردکن صکره {ناتال} اداره
مستقله سنی تشکیل ایتشلردی . انگلتره
ایسه بونلرک ساحل بمرده مستقل اداره
تاسیسنه جواز گوسترمه دیگندن دائرة اطاعته
دعوت ایلمش و وقوعه بولان مقاومت
اوزرینه قوه جبرییه استعمالیله بر قسمی دائرة
مطاوعته ایدر مشیدی .
انگلز لرك سیاه آدملری بیاضلره
مسئولی طوتمق وزنجیاری انسانیت ،
مدنیت ، دیانت شرفیله تربین ایتک قباحتنی
نفو ایده میان و انگلتر یوزی گورمامک
ایچون باشلرینی آلوب آفریقانک طاغلرینه
قاچان بونلرک اک خشین ، اک عنود

طاقی (هندریق پورتکیت) یرئیس وقو-
ماندان طایه رق وال نهرینک جهت شمالیه
سنده واقع (قاشان «یا» میغالسبرغ) [*]
دیتلان طاغ اتکارینه قدر یایلمشلردی .
بو حوالی ایسه اولجه (ماتابالا) حاکمی
{موسیلیقاچه} نک ید ضبطنه گچوب
بونلرک دخول واقعتی ایکی طرف اهالیسی
بینده انواع منازعات و اختلافات ولید
ایتشیدیکه عاقبت {موسیلیقاچه} خونریزانه
اولان بر محاربه ده مغلوب و منهزم اولوب
(لیپوپو) نهرینک شمال جهته فرار
[*] ترانسوال جمهوریتنک مقر حکومتی اولان
برتووریا شهرینک واقع اولدینی اووده حاکم جلدلر.

ایلمشیدی . آرتق بو محاربه و مظفریتدن
صکره بونلرک او حوالینک صاحبی و (ماتابالا)
لیرک جور و اذاسندن یلدهش اولان قبائل
قدیمه اهالیسنک حسن قبولنه مظهر اولمش
ایسه ده کندیلرینه دیش گوستره بیلجهک
بر قوم و قبیله لک قالمدیغنی گورنجه خشونت
فطرته لرینک مقتضایی اولان مظالم و تعدیاتی
ایقاعه قیام و قبائل قدیمه خالقنک مال
واملاکنی ضبط و غصب و چولوغ
چو جملرینی زور راه لاندن آلوب کوله گی
استخدام ایتمکله (ماتابالا) ایله رحمت
اوقوتدیر مشیدی .
بونلرک آفریقا قطعه سنی من طرف

الرحمن كندیلرینه بخش و احسان ایدلمش بر
مالكانه و آفرینا خلقی قوللق ابله كندیلرینه
خدمت ایتك ایچون خلق ایدلمش بر مخلوق
نظریله باقدفلرندن بونلك تمدن و تدینی التزام
ایدن انگیز و سارممالك متمدنه تجار و میسو-
زلرینه دائما عداوت ایدرلر و كندی اداره لری
تحتنده و یا نفوذ و اقتدار لری نك جاری اولدیغی
محلرده تجارت و مدینیت و دیانتك توسیع
و انتشارینه مانع اولغی عادتاً بر وظیفه دینه
یلورلردی . حتی مشهور (لیبونفستون)
(باقموات) قومنك ریسی (سچله) نك قرار
گاهی ارلان (قولونبغ) قصبه سنده مدت
مدیده قلوب بر مكتب كشاد ایتمش

و تشدیددیگی معاملری جوار قبائله
گوندرمكله آفرینا زنجیرینی نور مدینتله
تنویر ایلمش اولدیغی حالدله یالکز بوئرلرك
تحت اداره و نفوذنده بولان قبائل زنجیه
بوندن محروم قالمشیدی . (لیبونفستون)
بر قاچ کره (هندریق پورتکتیر) لك نزدینه
قدیر گیتمش و قبائلك معلم قبولی حقتده کی
مواتك رفغنی نیاز و طباب ایلمش ایسه ده
(هندریق پورتکتیر) تمنیات و مطالبی رد
و قبائل خلقنك اوگره نهجگی بر شیء وارسه
اوده زنجیرك بیاضارله مساوی اولماق
ایچون رادلمش اولدیغنی یلمك لازم گلهجگی
جوانی و یرمش و بوصولته (لیبونفستون) ی

مأیوساً عودته مجبور قیلمشیدی .
وال ایله لیبوپو نهرلری آره سنده
یزلشن بوئرلركال شدت و غلظتله اجرای
مظالم ایتدیگی صروده انكاتره حكومتی
اوزانر جهتنده بولان بوئرله تابعیت قید
و وظیفه سنی قوه جبرییه ایله طانت درمش
وانكاتره تابعیتی قبول ایتیانلر (پره توریوس)
لك ریاستی تحتنده ترانسواله گچوب اوراده
بولان همجنسلرینه التحاق ایتمش و پره
توریوسك ریاستی تحتنده بر اداره مخصوصه
تأسیس ایتشلردی .
انكاتره آفریقاده حكمرما اولان
ظلمت ظلم و بدویتك دفع وازاله سیچون

یگانه چاره اسارتك الغاسنی و تجارتك
توسیعنی بیلدیگندن و بوئرلرك موجودیت
اجتماعیه ، اعتقادات دینییه و شرائط انعامیه
سی ایسه بو ایکی نقطه مهمه دن عبارت اولان
مقصد انسانیتك حصولنه من كل الوجوه
مانع اولدیغندن بو حالدله بوئر شرادمنك
وجودینی قالدیرمق یا احوال اجتماعیه و اصول
اداره لری نی تعدیل و اصلاح ایتك شقیندن
برینك اختیاری انكاتره ایچون ضروری
ایدی . فقط او آرداق قریم محاربه سنی انتاج
ایدن و موازنه عالمی صارصان غوائل شرقیه
انكاتردی فوق العاده اشغال ایتدیگندن
امید پورونی مستهلكاتك توسیع و مصار-

فلك تكثيرى يوزدن برطاقم مشكلات
حدوثه احتمال قالماق اچون شق نانك
ترجیحی ووال نهرينك انگلتره مستملكتك
منتهای حدود شمالیه سی اعتباریله انك جهت
شمالیه سنده بولنه حق انگلتره تبعه سنك مختار.
یت سیاسیه و استقلال ادارهیه مظهرتی
اساسلری لوندره قابینه سنجه قرار اشمش
و (۱۸۵۲) سنه سنده امید بورونی والیهی
ایله پره تور یوسك مرخصی یئنده بر مقاوله
نامه عقد و تعاطی اولنه رق ترانسوآل بر
جمهوریت مستقله اوله رق طانامشیدی .
بوصره لرده قریم محاربه سی کسب اهمیت
اپدرك انگلتره اورانز قطعه سنجه ددبرگونه

غائله یه محل بر اقامه سی مناسب گوردیگندن
اسارتك ممنوعیت قطعیه سی قبول ایتك
شرطیله استقلال و مختاریت سیاسیه سی
تصدیق ایلمشیدی .

بوئرلر فیما بعد انگلتره تجارتینك
سر بستی تجارت و سیاحتیه مانع اولماق
واسارت فعل مذمومنی ارتکاب ایتامك
شرطیله استقلال و مختاریت اداره یی قزاقمش
اولدقلری حالده تعهدات واقعه لرینی اجرا سز
براقشلر مقاوله نامه نك اساسلری مذاکره
اولنور ایکن پره تور یوس مرخصی انگلیز
میسو نزلری حقنده نه یولده معامله ایذیله
جگنی امید بورونی والیسندن سؤال

ایلدیگنده (سیر جورج قاتقارت) «میسو نزل»
لر نه ایسترسه کز یاپه یلور سکرز «جوانی
لطیفه اولمق اوزره ویرمشیدی . بوئرلر
بو لطیفه یی جدیدیه حمل و (باقوانه) قبائلك
اسلحه و باروت ادخال و تدارکندن ممنوع
طوآملری حقنده کی مساعدیه یی بو قبائل
خلقنی تمامیه ازمکده کی حق و صلاحیتلرینه
دلیل عدایده رك مقاوله نامه نك تاریخ عقد
ندن ده بر قاق آی کچامش ایکن رئیس پره
تور یوس درت یوزافر ادمه اجه دن مهابک
بر چته ترتیب و لیه ونفسه تونك قرار گاهی
اولان قولونجه سوق ایله بیوت و اما کنی
و حتی لیه ونفسه تونك مکتبنی تمامیه تخریب

ایتدیرمش و بر قاق ساعت دوام ایذن قانلی
بر محاربه دن صوکره قاقه میان بر قاق یوز
ذکور و انات چو ققارله قادیلری قیدر قیته
الديرمشیدی .

لیه ونفسه تون بوئرلرک بو خیمه یی ایقاعندن
صوکره (قارونا) دن عودتنده وحشیلرک
ییله قیمدقلری کتب و رسائلنی پارچه پارچه
و مکتب و خانه سنی و قصه و ابویه سنی خاک
ایله یکسان و کندی مکتب نك مداومی
اولوب بوئرلرک قبضه اسارتیه کچمش اولان
ایکی یوز قدر ذکور و انات صبیانك قورتیله
یلن ابوینی مایوس و نالان بولش اولدیفندن
بو احوال فاجعه یی و هله رئیس قبیله (سچله).

نك اوغلى اولوب رئيس جمهور پره تور يوسك
يد اسارتدن مشكلاتله قورتاريلان بر
صينك ايكي بوگورينك آتشده يانمش
اولدينى حالده اعاده اولنديغنى رقت انگيز
بر اسان ايله تصوير و تحكيكه ايتمشدر.

بوئرلر اونه دنبرو تعقيب ايتدكلرى
آمال استيلا جويانه يه نائل وانگاتر نك
مداخلات و تعقيباتدن وارسته اولنجه فرط
استكبارله بلا پروا هر طرفه صالمنه باشلاش
وافريقاده ربقه اسارتلنده ايشامجه حق نه
قدر مخلوق وار ايسه جمله صينك وجودى
ازاله يه گوياخالى بچون طرفندن ماء ورايمش
گي حرکات وحشيانه و تعقيبات خونفشانه يه

انهم كله زنجيلره انسانلق حق و شرفنى
و وسائط مدافعه يي احراز ايتديرن ميسيور
لرک مؤسسه لرني بربر تخريب وكنديلرني
واقطار شماليه ايله اجرأى تجارت و كسب
مناسبت ايتك ايسيتان انگيز لرى طرد
و تبعيد ايتشيدى .

ايشته تكبر و تعصبك حكمر ما اولدينى
بر زمانده قريم محاربه سى ظهور ايتديگندن
بوئرلر روسيه نك مجرد قدسى وارض
فلسطينده واقع مقامات مباركه واماكن
مقدسه يي اسلامك يداستيلاسندن تخليص
مقصديله بو محاربه يي آچمش اولديغنه
ذاهب اوله رقب مسقوار دولينه امداد

و عدودين بيلدكلرى مسلمانلرى و كندى
خصم جانلرى و عدود ينلرينك يارد مجيلرى
بيلدكلرى انگيزلرى محوايده جك معاركات
و محارباته اشتراك ايتك شان و شرفنى قزاقنى
اميله بر قاچ يوز ديندار بوئردن مركب
بر مهرزه ترتيب وارض فلسطينه سوق
ايلمشيدى . بوقافله شماله طوغرى روان
اولوب بر قاچ گونلك يولدن صوكرم بر
بيوك نهرك منبعه تصادف ايتمش و (نيل)ك
منبى ظنيله بو نهرك نيل اسمنى و ير مشيدى .
قوم نى اسرائيل شان و طورينى
طاققان بوئرلر داودى صايلان پره تور
يوسك ارتخالى مقام رياستى منحل براقش

ويرينه متوفانك اوغلى ايكنجى پره تور يوس
آراى عموميه ايله انتخاب اولمشيدى . بونك
قوة فكريه سى و اداره مملكنجه اولان
اقتدارى بك محدود اولوب آثار ممدوحيت
گوستره مامش ايسه ده شرف نسبي سايه
سنده ترانسوآلجه اولان موقعنى تحكيم
ايتدكدن بشقه بيمدت ايچون اورانژ جمهور
يتك رياستى دخى احراز ايلمشدى ۱۸۶۸
سنه سنده ايكي جمهوريتك اتصالنده
واقع اولان (غريقولانده) الماس معدنك
كشنى ايكي جمهوريتى بو مملكتك حق
استملاكنى دعوايه سوق ايلمشيدى .
حاليوكه بو مملكت و قتيله بوئرلر از دواج

ايتدكلرى قبائل ناسندىت حاصل اولان
اولاد واحفاددن عبارات و غريقوا ناميله
مشهور اولان قومك تحت ضبط و اداره سنده
برلىو ردى. غريقوالرك اونا رىخده ريشى
بولان و اتر بوئر ايكى دارلك دعواسنى
رد ايلاش ايسه ده ابتدا اوراى جمهورى
رئيسى (براند) و عقيبند پره تورس
الماس معدنك چيقدىنى محل ضبط و اداره
ايتك اوزره آرى آرى بررولى تعيين
واعزام ايله شدى. فقط بو ايكى جمهورك
دعواى تصرفدن طولاي اولان مناقشاي
لفظلى و واليرك حكىمى غير مرعى ايكن
قسم اعظمى انگيز اولان اوزره اجتماع

و معدن اعمالاته كرمى تام ايله مباشرت
ايدن معدنچيلر اورا ريشى اعمار ايتمش و اميد
بورونى واليسى او قطعه نك انگلتره تابعيتنده
بولان غريقوالره عايدى جهتيله انگلتره
مستملكه سى اولديغى اعلان و بالذات محله
عنيت ايدرك اهالى محليه نك و معدنچيلرك
حسن قبولنه مظهر اولمشيدى .
اوراى رئيسى براندك لوندريه
گيدوب صلاحايشى بتورمى و مبلغ مهم
آلىنى بوئرلك پره تورىوس علمينه قيامنه
وهولاندا ارباب علم و كانندن فرانسوا
بورگر ك انتخابنه سبب اولمشيدى .
فرانسوا بورگر ا بوئرلك نعمت

مدنيتدن متمم اولملىنى تأمين ايدىدك
وسائط اصلاحيه بى استحصال ايلك بولنده
چالشمش و ترانسوالدن ده لاغوايه قدر
بر تيمور بولى انشاسيچون پورتكيز حكومتى
ايله عقد مقاوله ايتك اوزره
آوروپايه سياحت ايدرك بو مقاصدك
حصولنه و سرمايه تداركته موفق اولوب
عودت ايلمش ايسدم بر طرفدن شمديكى
رئيس قروگر ك علمينده انواع مقاصد القا
ايتمى و ديگر طرفدن قبائل حكمدار قديمى
اولان (سقوقو) نك اسكى بر دعواى
تجديد ايلمى بو موفقيت و مظهر نك
اقتطاف ثمراته ميدان بر اقاممشيدى .

(سقوقو) ايله آچيلان محاربه بوئرلك
انهرامى موجب اولوب ترانسوالك بقاى
تهلكه به گيرمش اولديغندن انگلتره هم
ترانسوالى قورتارمق و همده قبائل قديمه نك
آوروپا مدنيتنه مانع اوله بيله جك درجه ده
يوز بولمىنه محل قالماق ايچون مداخله
قرار و يرمش وسير (طنوفيلوس شپستون) ي
مأوريت مخصوصه ايله ترانسواله اعزام
ايلمشيدى . موسيو (شپستون) اوتوز
سوارى ايله پره تورىايه مواصلتنده مركزه
وقصبات متجاوزده بولان بوئرلك و على
الخصوص قروگر ك گوستردكلرى ميل
و موافقت اوزرينه انگلتره اداره سنى تأسيس

وانگلیز سنجاغنی رکن ایلمشیدی .

انگلتره نك شو صورتله مداخله سی
بوئرلری بیوک بر فلاکتدن قورتارمش
ایسه ده استقلال اداره لرینی رفع وازاله
ایتدیگندن یواش یواش آثار ناخوشنودی
نمایان اولمغه باشلایوب عاقبت (۱۸۸۰)
تاریخنده یعنی موسیو (طوفیلوس شپستون)
ك ترانسوالی انگلتره اداره سی تحتنه
آلدیردیغی تاریخدن اوچ سنه صکوره بوئرلر
آچقندن آچینه عصیان ایتمشیدی .
انگلتره بو قیامی تسکینه ناتال والیسی
(سیر جورج قولئی) یی مأمور ایدوب
موجود اولان قوه عسکریه سیله ترانسوال

اوزرینه یوریمش ایسه ده ناتال ایله ترانسوال
بیننده کی حدود طبیعی یی تشکیل ایدن
(دارکن برکن) - سلسله جبالنك الك مهم
کچیدی اولان (انقسنك) موقعنده انگلیز
مقرزه سی دهشتلی صورتده منہزم اولدیغی
حالده سیر (جورج قولئی) متنبه اولیوب
مدادینه یتیشان دیگر قوه عسکریه سنك
التهاقیله برابر تکرار ترانسواله گچمگه
قالتشمش و (ماروبا) تپه سنده کلی انہزامه
اوغراهرق احتیاطسزلق خطاسنی قایله
اوده مشیدی . بو هنریمت انگلتره یه تأثیر
ایدرك اکمال ناموسی ایچون اخذ انتقام
اسباب قویه سنی تدارکله انگلیز قوماندانلری

همان هجومه مهالك اولدیغی حالده اعتدال
فکری مشهور اولان موسیو (غلادستون)
سرکارده بولوب انگلتره گبی بر دولت
معظمه ایچون التزام اعتدالی قوه جبرییه ایله
حاصل اوله جق مظفریته مرجع طوته رقی
در حال عقد مصالحه ایله ترانسوالک اعاده
استقلال امرینی ویردی .
(۱۸۸۱) تاریخنده عقد اولنان معاهده
ترانسوالک استقلال اداره داخلی تأمین
ایلمش ایسه ده انگلتره نك متبوعیتی و داخلی
بعض مسائلده حق مداخله سنی تضمین
ایتدیگندن بوئرلر تمامیه ممنون قالماش
ومقام ریاسته گتورلمش اولان قروگرباش

قوماندان و معارف مدیری برلکده اولدیغی
حالده لوندره یه گیتشمش و (۱۸۸۴) تاریخنده
تعدیلاً بر ایکنجی معاهده تنظیم و تعاطی
ارلنهرق اداره داخلیه سنجه ترانسوال تمامیه
مستقل طانامش و فقط اورائز جمهوریتندن
بشقه دول اجنبیه و قبائل محلیه رؤساییه
عقد اولنه جق معاهدات و مقاولاتک احکامی
مرعی اوله ییلمك ایچون انگلتره قرالیچه
سنك اولجه او معاهداتی تصدیق ایلمسی
لازم گله جگی قیدی معاهده نك دردنجی
ماده سنده درج ایدلمشیدی .
ایشته ترانسوالک موقع سیاسیسيله
حقوق عمومیه سنی و شکل اداره سنی تعیین

ایدن شوصوك معاھدە دركە تفسیر و تطبیق
احكامی محاربه نك ظھورینە بادی اولان
اختلافی تولید ایله شدرد .

اختلاف حاضر ك اسباب ظھورینی
تعریفه گیر شه زدن اول بوئرلك احوال
خصوصیه و صوك دفعه كی استقلال اداره
لرندن برو تأسیس ایتدكاری اداره حقنە
بعض معلومات اعطاسنی مناسب گوریرز .
بوئرلر خشونت طبعلرینك سابقه
سیله مدنیتن قاجوب یایلدقلى محله
صرف چفتجیلکه ودها طوغریسی چوبانامه
یاقشان طریق اتعاشی طوتمشله . هر عائله
رئیس عائله سنی واسرا وخدامدن مرکب

اولان دائره سنی بارندرمق و حیوان
سوریسینی یایدیرمق ایچون ك اشاغی اوچ
بك (مورگن) یعنی اوتوز بك دوندن
عبارت و (پلاطسی) تعبیر اولنان منزعه
دگل بر قوجه قطعه بی تحت تصرفه آلوب
آنك وسطنەده و حاكم بر نقطه سینه بر
اقامتگاه یا دها طوغریسی بر تحصنگاه بنا
ایدرك بر اشمگه مجبوردر . بو صورتله
اقامت و معاشرت نعمت مدنیتك تقدیرینه
مانع اولان عزالت و انفرادك دوامه و تربیه
و موارفك عدم انتشارینه کافیدر . بونك
ایچون دها یقین و قته قدر بوئرلك چوغی
حیوانات و حشیه دریلرینی اکتساوا کتریسی

رسمی انجیل و توراتك صیافنه واوزرنده
منقوش اولان تصاویر تاریخیه گوز
گذریمر مکله اجرای عبادت ایدرلردی .
قصبه دنیلان اجتماعگاهلری بیوك کوی
حالنده ایکن ایچنده بولنان بوئرلك هیچ
بریسی اصنافلنه و صنعتکارانه رغبت ایتمز
اورائز طرفلرنده و ترانسوالك اورائزه قریب
جهتلرنده قبائل خلقنك مجتمعا اقامتیه مساعده
گوسترلرسه ده بشقه طرفلرده زنجیلر
مختلف قبائل خلقندن مرکب اولمده
مجتمعا اقامتلیرینه مساعده ایتزلر و بو حالده
بر قایق سنه ده بر مسکن و مأوالرینی تبدیله
مجبور طوتارلر . زنجیلر نرده اولور ایسه

اولسون اراضیه به متصرف اوله ماز و سلاح
طاشیه قحقی و سائر حقوق مدنییه احراز
حق بوئرلر ایله بر چاقی آلتنده دگل بر محله
ایچنده یله اقامت و بیتوت ایده منزل .
معدنجیلک مملکتك ك نمادار صفتی ایکن
زنجیلر کندی حسابلرینه معدن ایشلته منزل
و عمله اوله رق بر معدنده ایشلیه جك اولورلر
ایسه اجر تلرینی آلتون اوله رق اخذ ایده .
منزلر و اوزرلرنده آلتون طاشیه مازلر .
طاشیلرله ضرب و حبس ایله مجازات
اولورلر . چینیلر ، هندیلر ، مسلمانلر
حق اختلاطدن محروم و ترانسوالده اقامت
و اجرای صنعت ایده بیلک ایچون یگریمی

بش انگلیز لیراسی مقابلنده بر رخصت
مخصوصه آلمغه مجبوردر .

کلهلم اداره حکومته : شکل اداره
جمهوریتدر . طوغریدن طوغری به افراد
اهالی طرفندن بش سنه مدت ایچون
انتخاب اولنور بر رئیس رأس ادارهده
بولنور . هر بریرک یکریمی طغوز اعضادن
سرب و برنجی وایکنجی و وولقراد ایلایه
مسمی ایکی مجلس عمومی هیئت قانونی
وقود عمومی قومانی اولوب رئیس
معاونی عنوانی طاشیان و برناظر وارخ
اعضادن سرب اولان هیئت ، هیئت اداره .
سنی تشکیل ایدر . جمهور رئیس برنجی

وایکنجی مجلس عمومی اعضاسی و جمهوریتک
یوک چوک مأموری اوله یلمک ایچون
اصلاً وئسللاً بورگر ؛ یعنی امیدبوروندن
هجرت ایتمش و هیچ اوازسه { ۱۸۷۶ }
تاریخندن اول ترانسوالده یراشمش و پرو .
تستیان ، مذهبنه منسوب بولمش اولمق اقتضا
ایدر . وقتیه بیاض اولوب ترانسواله کنلر
ایچون تابعیت حقنی قزاق قولای ایکن
مؤخرامعدنلرک ترقی اعمالاتی جتیه کلیته
کلوب یراشان آوروپالیرک و علی الخصوص
انگلیرلرک بوحق تابعیتدن استفاده سنی
منع ایچون آغرشراط وضع اولمشدر .
ایک سنه اقامتدن صوکره صفت تابعیتی

قزاقانلر برنجی درجهده اولان تبعه صنفی
تشکیل ایدرکه بولر یالکز اهمیتدن عاری
اولان ایکنجی مجلس عمومی اعضاسنی انتخاب
ایتمک و درت سنه اقامتدن صوکره صفت
تابعیتی قزاقانلر ایکنجی مجلس عمومی اعضالغنه
انتخاب اولمق حقنی حازدر { ۱۸۹۰ }
تاریخی قانون حکمنجه اون ایکی ، { ۱۸۹۴ }
تاریخی قانون حکمنجه اون درت و { قروگر }
ایله امیدبورونی والیسی سیر ؛ افراد میلیرک
اوران مرکز اداره سنه سنه کی مکمله حق صوکره
{ قروگر } طرفندن تکلیف و { وولقراد }
طرفندن قبول اولنان یکی قانون حکمنجه
یدی سنه اقامتدن صوکره تابعیتی قزاقانلر

اوچنجی درجهده اولان صنف تبعه
تشکیل ایدرکه بولر کافه حقوق مدنی
وسایسیه حازدر .
جمهوریت دنیلوب اون طغوز سنه
دنبرو بالاسنقلال اجرای ریاست ایدن
{ قروگر } ک رأی مستقیمانه تابع اولان
ترانسوال جمهوریتی حق انسانی بیاض
لونده بولمان انسانلر ، حقوق مدنی
بولرک مذهبنده بولانلر و حقوق
سیاسیه بی اصلاً وئسللاً بولر اولانلر حصر
ایلمشدر . دنیانک هر طرفندن قالدیرلمسنه
چالش مقده اولان شر اختلاف جنسی
ومذهب قیود وحددینک رفع وتمدیلنی

آفریقای جنوبیجه لك زياده :لاق داراولان
انگاتردنك طلب ايمسى محاربه يه قدر
وارديرمشدر .

ترانسوال واورانز جمهوريتلرينك
حوزه ملكيه لريني تشكيلى ايدن ممالك
واسعه ونبته اهايسى اولوب حيوانات اهليه
يتشديرملك وزراعت املك ايله مألوف
اولان بوئرلر اجراى صنعت وفلاحتيه
منحصر برحاله قالمش اولسه ايدى . چونكه
انگاترد ترانسوالك جهت شمال شرقيه
سند بولان والآن پورتگيزك يداستملار
كنده قالمش اولان ممالكدن بشقه اطراف
اربعمه سنى تحت تصرفنه كچورمش ودائراً

مادار معمره لرى وتيمور يوللارى ايله
قوشاتمش اولديغندن بوئرلرك كرك آفرىقاچه
وكرنك اوروپاچه حائز اهميت انگاترد
مستملكاتجه موجب وخامت اوله جق بر
حال وحركتي متصور ومعاهدة ميجوت
عنه انك متضمن اولديغى حق حاكميت ووظيفة
محكوميت استمال وايفا سندن طولاني
عاقدين بيننده برگونه اختلاف حدوشه
محل قلمنازدى . بالعكس بوئرلركندي
محصولاتى انجق انگلنز مستملكه لرينه صاته
بيله جكارندن ومعاملات تجاريه لريني انجق
انگاترد واسطه سيله اجرا ايتديره بيله جكار
ندن الجاى منفعت ومرور زمانه اميد بورونى

مستملكه سنده قالن بوئرلركى وادى
مدنيته گيرمگه وانگاتردنك آفرىقاچه تعقيب
ايتديكى مقاصد انسايتپروانه سنده خادم
اولغه مجبور اوله جقدى .

حال بوكه جناب حق بو مملكته
اراضينك قوه انباتيه سندن زياده جهانده
مثلى گورولماش درجه ده بر ثروت معدنيه
احسان ايلمشدر . ترانسوالك مساحه سطحيه
سى تقريباً سكرىوز بيك كيلو متر و مربع
ولديني حالده بونك بر شش كيز لافناى
ثروت دنيله جك قدر بر حوضه معدنيه در .
بوندن اون آلتى سنه دنبروكال كرمى ايله
اعمال و اخراج ده واملان آلون معدنلرنيك

اخراجاتى اودرجه ترقى ايتشدر كه محاربه دن
اولكى سنه ايچنده اون يدى مليون انگلنز
ليراسنه قريپ بر مقداره بالغ اولمشدر .
بو ثروت فوق العاده مملكته اهميت
ماليه وسياسيه سنى آرتيرمش وآلتون
اخراجاتنك حائز اولديغى قوه جاذبه نك
قلب انسانه اولان تاثيريله ديانك هر
طرفندن سعادت و ثروت آرقه سنه دوشن
آدملرك تهالكه اجتماعه سببيت ويرمشدر .
آلتون معدنلرى ايشله مزدن اول
ترانسوالده بوئر اوله رق يالكر يتمش بيك
نفوس وارا يكن شمدى اوچ يوز بيك نفوسى
متجاوز پياض ومتمدن اهالى موجود در .

معدنلرک ظهورندن اول ترانسوال حکو-
متهک سنوی واردات عمومیه سی آنجق
یوزتمش بیک ایرایه حقیقه بیامش و خزینہ
مرکزیه ده برتک سکة ذهبیه بولندیرمق
ممکن دگل ایکن بوگون واردات
درت بچق ملیون انگلیز ایراسنه وارمش
ودنیای ثروتیه ییلدیرمش اولان قوجیه
انگلترهیه مقابله ایده بیلجک ادوات ناریه
واسلحه مکملہ حربیه تدارک ایتدیرن تقوؤ
کثیره ادخار ایتدیرلمشدر . بوندن اون
آلتی سنه اول یکون ادخالات و اخراجات
بر ملیون انگلیز ایراسنه بالغ ایکن بوگون
سنوی تجارت عمومیهک یکونی اوتوز

ملیون انگلیز ایراسی یعنی تکمیل ممالک
عثمانیهک اخراجات و ادخالاتنه مساوی بر
مقداری تجاوز ایتشد . بوراسنی خاطر دن
چیقار مالمیدرکه بویله بر ثروت فوق العاده
منابعی جامع اولان قطعیه و قتیله انگلیز
تبعه سندن اولوب ده انگلترهک اداره
سندن قاچمش ، انگلترهک آفریقاییلر
ایسته دیگی مدنیته مانع اولمق ایسته مش
انگلترهک مشربنه ، مذهبنه ، تعقیب
ایتدیگی مسلك انسانیت پروانه سنه مالاً ،
بدناً ، قلباً خصومت ایلمگی عین عبادت
بیلمش بوئرلدر . بوراسنی نظر محاکه دن
دور ایتالمیدرکه بو آلتون دغاینک قیمت

اعتباریه سنک بدلی لوندره سرمایه دارانک
جزو داننده محفوظ بولان اسهامک تشکیل
ایتدیگی بر ثروت حقیقیه در . بو ثروت
و تجارتی اداره ایدن انگلیزدر . زنجیردن
ماعداهالی متمدنهک نصفنی تشکیل ایدن
(اوتلاند) لرک یعنی اجنبیلرک درت خمس
انگلیزدر . حال بویله ایکن انگلتره دولتی
بوئرلرک شوخدانی بیکانه ، صرف مساعدت
طالعله اولان شو ثروت مالیه سنه واسایه ده
استحضار ایتدکری قوؤ حربیه سنه قارشی
بیقیدانه می طاورانه بیلور ؛ بش اون میلیارلق
ثروت ملیه سنی ترکیب ایدن بر سرمایه
تجارتی فدا می ایده بیلور : قوؤ فکریه و مالیه

لرینک و مساعی متوالیه بدنی لرینک محصولی
اولان بومعادن جسمیه مالک اولمش
یوز بیک تبعه سنی بوئرلرک اداره کیفیه سنه ،
خرص و طمعنه قربانی ایده بیلور ؛ ایسته
مسئله حاضرده ی تولید ایدن احوال حقیقه
بونلدر .

بوئرلرک خشونت طبعنه ، تعصبات
دنییه سنه ، رده قوؤ مالیه و قدرت سیاسیه
سنه انضمامیه مساعدت ایدیلجک اولسه
انگلترهک آفریقاجیه اولان تصورات
جسمیه مدنیته پروانه سی تمامیه سکته دار
ارلور . فنالق اودر جه ده ده قالماز بوئرلرک
بویله ر قوؤ مالیه سی . بویله بر قدرت

سیاسیہ سی آفریقای جنوبیہ ک مکہم
عنصرینی تشکیل لایدن و همجنس لری اولوب
عناد و تمصلیرینه اشترک اتمامکله انگلتره
اداره سنده قالمش اولان تکمیل آفریقاندر
(بور) لری تیج و انگلیز حاکمیتی علیمنه بحر
یک ایدر که نتیجه سی ایکی عنصر دن برینک
آفریقای جنوبی دن چقمسینی منجر اولور
انگلتره البته آفریقاچه اولان اعمال و مقاصد
انسانیت کارانه و تعالی پرورانه سینی بویله
متعصب برک و هاک غلط و منافعی اوزرتینه
ترک و فدا ایدم مزایدی
انگلتره تون دنیایی صارصمش
جهانگیلاک طاسایان دواتلری یله یلدرمش

اولان متانت و مکتبی بوئرله قارشو گوستر
مامکله موجودیت سیاسیہ سینی ، موقع
اقتدارینی تهله که یه دوشوره مزایدی
انگلتره نك بوئرله قارشو درمیان
ایتدیگی مطالب سیاسیہ نك مستند اولدیغی
حقوق عهدیه نی، انگلتره نك دائما انسانیت،
مدنیت، حریت، منافع ایله توحید ایتدیگی
منافع مخصوصه سینی تأمین و استحصال ایچون
توسیل ایتدیگی وسائط حریه نك حصول
موقفینه کافی اولوب اولمادیغی دوشونمکه
محل گورمیز... انگلتره جمیع زمانده عدالت،
حریت طرفداری بولور . هر قوم
و ملتک نور مدنیت الیه منور هر قطعه

والسک نك قوه عدالت ایله محکم اولمسی
آرزو ایدر . دینانک هانکی طرفنده براداره
ظالمه باش گوسترسه آکا قارشو خصوصت،
هانکی مملکتک خلق زنجیر بند اسارت
اوله حق اولسه آکا مظاهرت گوستر .
بو منویات انسانیت پرورانه سی ، بوقنیات
عدالتکسترانه سی صرف حسیات وجدانیه
نک علویتندن منبعشدر دینیه من . دولت
مجمعه دنیان او ایکی جزیره که ربع
مسکونک ساحج برکار خانه عمومی سینی اطلاقیه
شایسته در . بو کارخانه دستگاها لر انده کیچه
گوندز چیقان ملیونلرجه مع . ولات
و منسوجاتی سور دیر مک ایچون مشترینک

عددی تکیثیره مجبوردر . اشترایسه
و غبته ، رغبت ایسه احتیاجه بوده مدنیتک .
ثروتک تزدینیه متوقفدر . انگلتره سائر
جهانگیر لری گبی دنیایی استیلا ایتدیگی
مملارک مال و تروتنی غصب و اغتنام ایله
کسب قوت و ثروت ایتک مسکنی
طوتماشدر . بالعکس ثروت و معمور
یتلریکی تزید ایچون مالاً ، نقداً فدا کارلقده
بولمشیدر . حاصلی دائماً کندی قدرت
و تروتنی بشقه لرینک مدنیت و سعادتده
ارامشدر . انسانیت و مدنیت اولان خدما
تی صرف جر منفعت مقصدینه حمل ایدنلر
انگلتره دی منفعتپرستاکله اتمام ایتک ایتلر .

بزجه هر حالده انگلتره منافع مليه سنی
انسانيتك منافع عموميه سيله توحيد ايد
يلديگی ایچون شایسته تېریک وانسانیت
قارشى ابراز ایدگی خیر خواهانی منافع
مليه سی ايله موافق دوشوردیگی ایچون نیات
وتمنیاتی شایان امنیتدر انگلتره نك آفریقاجه
اولان مطای ایچنده بولنان ایکی اوچ یوز
مليون نفوس بشريه نك نائل نعمت و مدنیت
واوسایه ده حائز ثروت و معصومیت
اولمسنندن عبارتدر . انگلتره نك بوئرک
حکومتنه اولان تکالیفی بوئرک منسوب
اولدینی نناصرک مابه الامتیازی اولان
مدنیتك خادمی ، او مدنیتك آفریقاجه

ناشری اوله حق بر اداره صحیحه تأسیس
ایلملرندن ، انگلیز اداره سنده بولنان
آفریقاندلر نه گبی حقوق سیاسیه و مدنییه
مظهر اولورسه ترانسوالده بولنان انگلیزلر ،
آلمانلر ، فرانسزلر و سائر اجناس مختلفه
افرادى جنس ولونه ، قومیت و مذهب
باقیه رق عینی او حقوق سیاسیه و مدنییه
مظهر اولمقدن عبارتدر . بو طبایک مقرون
حق اولدینی کیم انکار اید یلور ؟
انگلز ایسه بو طلبده ، بودعاده
بولمنه و جوهله صلاحیتداردر . انگلیزلر
یوزسنه اول امید بورونی اشغال ایل
آفریقای جنوبی یه وضع ید ایتدکاری زمان

اورالری نه حالده بوئرک تحت تحکمنده
بولنان قبائل زنجیرله جاوه مسلمانلری
نصل دخراش بر ذلت و سفالتده بولدقلى
یوقاریده بیان ایلدک . بو حال ظلمت
وسفالنه قارشى انگلیزلرک برنجی ایشی
طبقات متفاوتده بولنان و حاکم ایل
دگل مالک ایل مملوک دنبله جک قدر یکدی
یکرندن فرقی بولنان ایکی صنفی ترکیب
ایدن افرادک سرستی دین و وجدان
قضیه سنی نامینه برابر صورت و طایفه ده
نائل حریت اولمیرنه کافل اوله حق بر اداره
ساله تأسیس ایدتی . بو اداره ایسه بر طرفدن
بوئرک فوق المعدل والطبیعه اولان

تحکمت و تعدیاته سد چکمش دیگر
طرفندن ده بوئرک طریق حق و صلاحی
قبول و مسلمانلر حریت کامله ، مساوات
نامه احراز ایتدیرمش و زنجیرلر شرف
انسانیتی طایتدیرمشیدی . بو اداره سایه
سندده انساندن حالی قالان محللر مسکون
اولدی . بیاض انسانه جنوار ، خونخوار
نظریله باقان زنجیرلر انسانیتجه ، تریهجه ،
دیخه ، اخلاقه ، مدنیته آنلر بکرده دی .
آنلرک حقوق و صریاتی احراز ایتمکه
آلشدی . آفریقاده کندیلرندن بشقه هر
معناسیله انسان طایق ایستیمیان بوئرک
انگلتره اداره سنده قالدقلى گوندیرو

باشی آلوب قاچانلردن تفريق ايچون
آفريقاندر ديدلدى . بونلر مدنيتك شرفنى ،
قانون عدالتك قوتنى تقديره مجبور اولدى .
افراد بينندهكى اختلاف مشرب بر طرف
ايدلدى اجناس بينندهكى تقدم و تفاضل
دعوانى حل ايدن حكومت عادله آنك
تأسيس ايتديكى ضابطه قانونيه و رابطه
معنويه سايه سنده هر كس مساواته ،
يكدىگريله قرداشجه معاشرته آلتى .
هر طرفه يوللر ، كوبرلر ، شمسندوفرلر
احداث وكشاد ، مكئبلر ، جامعلر ، كليسالر ،
دار الصنائع ، دار القونلر ، كتبخانهلر ،
موزه خانهلر ، عظيم شهرلر تأسيس ايدلدى .

حاصلى اميد بورونى هر جهتله آوروپا
ماليكيتك الك مع مورينه بكنزه دلدى .
نهایتنده اصول مشروطيت مكمل
صورته موقع تطبيقه قونيله رق قود اداره
اميد بورونى مستملكه سنك سكان عموميه .
سنه توديع ايدلدى . اصول مشورت ايسه
لون وصفه ، جنس وديانت گوزه دليهرك
عموم اهاليك انتخاب ايتديكى اعضادن
مركب اولان مجلس مبعوثان و مجلس اعيانك
تحت ضمانته آلدیرلدى . اداره مركزيه
بو ايكي مجلسك اكثريتنى تشكيل ايدن
طرفك سرآمدانندن مركب بر هيئته محول
و هيئت اداردنك معاملات واجراآتى

وسقوط و تجديدى پارلامنتونك حكم
و قرارينه معلقدر .

كله لم مسلمانلرك بختنه : بونلرك حالى
انگلتره اداره سنك نظر دقت و رقتنى جلب
ايتديگندن اول بول اسلاميتك شرفيله
متناسب معابدك تأسيسى و جماعت اسلاميه .
نك بر موقع احترام احرازى چارمىنى
آراشدير مق ايچون اميد بورونى شهرنده
ضابطه مأمورلغنده بولان ميستر (دوره)
نامنده بر ذات انتخاب ايدلشيدى . ميستر
درويه مسلمانلرك كسب شرف و اعتبار
ايتسى اسبابك استحصالة كمال جدتله سعى
ايتشيدى . قريم محاربه سى انگلتره دواتى

ايله دولت عثمانيه بيننده جاگير اولان
موالات و مصانات قديمك درجه و اهميتنى
هر طرفه اعلان و اشاعه ايتش اولديغندن
او وقته قدر اميد بورونى مسلمانلرى ده
بو مناسبك ماهيت و قيمتى تقدير ايدى بيله
چك بر حاله كلش اولدقندن انگلتره اداره
سى سايه سنده مظهر اولدقلى عدالت
و سعادتى و ميستر درويه دن كوردكارى
انسانيت و معاوتنى ديتا متبوع معنوى
وسيلة متبوع حقيقتلر يك دوست معظى
يكدلكرى سلطان عبدالمجيد مرحومه عرض
ايلمشلردى . ميستر درويه يك بو همت
و خدمتى خافان مرحومك محظوظيت

سنيه سنی موجب اولوب نشانه تقدير اولمق
اوزره ذی قیمت هدایای سنيه ايله تسریر
اولمشیدی . میسترده روبه مظهر اولدینی
شو تقدير عالی به قارشو مسلمانلره اولان
محبت و معاونتی بر قاندها تزید ایلمش
واوسایه ده امید بورونجه اولان اعتبار
و حیثیتی آرتیره رق و مجلس مبعوثان اعضا
لغنه نامزد اولمشیدی .
آفریقاندرلر یعنی امید بورونجه
قالمش اولان بورلر مسلمانلره قارشو اولان
حسیات استحقار کارانه لرینی و خصوصت
دینییه لرینی تمامیه تسکین ایده موش
اولدقارندن مسلمانلره بو درجه ده محبت

کوسترمش بر آدمی مبعوثانه لایق کورماش
و انتخابنه مانع اولمشار ایه ده ایکی سنه صوکره
بر خصوصی انتخابده میسترده روبه مجلس
اعیان اعضا منه انتخاب اولمشیدی . انکاره
دواتی ایه ده دوات عثمانیه نك استحصا
وسائل قوت و شوکت ایتسی یولنده انواع
مظاهرات سیلمیه ده بولندینی کبی عثمانی
پادشاهنك حائز اولدینی خلافت اسلامیه
قوة قدسیه نك عالم اسلامیتك هر طرفه
شمشه پاش اولمسنه ده دلالت ایده کلدیکندن
امید بورونی حواله سیلنده بولنان اهالی
اسلامیه مه مقتضیات دینییه بی تلقین ایچون
علامدن بر ذاتک تعین واعزامنی باب عالیدن

طالب ایلمش و میسترده روبه نك مجلس
اعیان اعضا مننده بولندینی حالد دوات
علیه نك امید بورونی باش شهبندر لکنه
تعیینی خصوصنه مساعده ایلمشیدی .
میسترده روبه آفریقای جنوبی مسلمانارینك
احتیاجات واحوان مخصوصه نی و چاره
اصلاحنی بالذات عرض و ایضاح ایتك ایچون
سلطان عبد الیزیز مرحومك بدایت
سلطنتارنده استنبوله قدر کلمش و او ارالق
اداره دولت (فؤاد و عالی) پاشالر کبی دور
اندیش وکلانك ید اقتدارنده بولندیغندن
انواع تلطیفاته مظهر اوله رق و اقتضا ایدن
تعلیماتی و (پورا الزابت) شهرنده بر جامك

مصارف انشائه سنه قارشولق اولمق اوزره
سلطان (عبدالعزیز) مرحومك احسان
ایتدیکی عطیه بی آلهرق محل مأموریتنه
عودت ایلمش و بر طرفدن مقام خلافت
کبرادن مأمورا کوندراش اولان خواجه
(بکر) افندی مرحومك تلقین دین و تهذیب
اخلاق یواننده کی غیرتی و دیگر طرفدن
میسترده روبه نك پارلامتوجه اولان
معاونت و همی مسلمانلرک حقوق مدنییه
و سیاسییه سنی و آفریقای جنوبیه بر موقع
اخرانینی تأمین ایتشددر . معارف عمومییه
نظامنامه لایحه نك مذا کرده سی اشناسنده
آفریقاندرلر مسلمانلری مکاتب عمومییه ده

علوم دینیہ تحصیلندن محروم قیلق ایچون
علوم دینیہ نك وقت معینده تدریسی یالکز
مکاتب عیسویایه حصر ایتک ایستمشار
ایسه ده اکثریتله بو دعوالری رد اولنش
و مجلس بموئان واعیانده بولنه حق اعضانك
امر تخلفی مسلمانارك قبول ایده یله جکی
شکل و صورته افراغله مسلمانارك ده شورای
ملته دخولی حق نأمین ایدلشدر .
مسلمانار بو کون امید بورونك مرکزدند
واک مهم بندر و شهر لندیمك ممتاز موقع
طوته رق مکاتب و معابدی غایت منتظم
وتریه و اخلاقچه اولان ترقیاری دین محمد
ینك شرف و علوتی ایله متناسب درجه یه

وارمش اولدیفندن اهتدایه رغبت گوندن
گونه تزايد ایتکده و ملتدینك عدد
نفوسی متبادیا تکثر ایلیمکده در .
امید بورونی مسلماناری و ترانسوال
معدنلنده ایشایوب اعلان حرب سببیه
بوئرل طرفندن طرد و تبعید ایدلش اولان
مسلمانلر انگلتره اداره سی سایه سنده مظهر
اولدقاری نعمت حریت و عدالتك حق
شکرانی ایفا ایچون سلاح آلتنه گیروب
دشمنار قارشی قانلری دوکده دیا و وجدانا
مجبور بو وظیفه یی ایفایه حاضر اولدقاری
یکزبان اولرق امید بورونی والیسی سیر
(آفردمیایر) ده عرض و بیان ایتشاردر .

بو تفصیلاته گیریشمکدن مقصدیمز
آفریقا غارنده محاربه ایدن ایکی عنصرك
قوت و مدنیته اولان تفاوت و تقاضای
گوسترمك دکلدر . اصل مقصدیمز
انگلتره نك آفریقای جنوبیه تعقیب ایتدیکی
مقاصدك حصولی آفریقا زنجبار نك ،
عموم انسانیتك و علی الخصوص عالم اسلامیتك
منافع حاضره و آتیله سنی نأمین ایده جکی
و بوئرلرک موفقییتی نمنی ایلمك آفریقا عالمی
مظلومه سنك الی الابد ظلمت و ظلم و فساد
ایچنده قالمارینی ، انسانیتك تکملدن محروم ،
عالم اسلامیتك ده میدان سیاست و مدنیته
بر موقع مخصوص احرار ایدیلماك ایچون

محتاج اولدیفنی حریت و مزیتله نائل اولماسنی
تمنی دیمك اوله جغنی اثبات ایتمکدر .
بو حقایقه قارشی آروپا محافل سیاسییه
و افکار عمومییه سنك ترانسوال مسئله سی
حقننده کی محاکمات و تقدیراتی شایان حیرتدر .
دنیا قوریلله لی ریوزنده گورلماش بر دولت
معظمه تأسیسنه ، عقل بشرک شمدی یه
قدر تصور ایده مدیگی بر دستور اداره نك
تطبیقنه موفق اولان انگلتره نك عظمت
و شوکتیه قارشی آروپا دولترنجه بر حس
استرقاب بسلندیک چوقد برو استشمام
اولمشدی . فقط انگلتره دنیا نك هر جهتده
اولان حقوق و شانی و منافع مخصوصه سنی

دهشتی قوه بحریه سیله مدافعه و محافظه
و بو حقوق و منافعه خادم اولان موازنه
عمومیه بی صارصه بیله جک هر زرده بر
مسئله یا حادثه سیاسیہ ظهورر ایله جک
اولسه آنی قوه معنویه سنک نائیه بیله فصل
ایدرک کندوسمه مضر اولقی مقصایدیله
ال آلتنده ترتیب اولتان اتفاقات دولیه
واولور اولماز مشکلات سیاسیہ نظر
بیقیدیلہ باقمده و هیچ بر دولت انگلتره نك
قوته قارشى آچقندن آچیه مقاومت ایلمک
و بونى گوسترمک جبارت ایتمکده ایکن
بو مسئله هر قوم و دولتک انگلتره جه اولان
نظرات و حسیاتى ظاهره چقارمش

و عالمک حریت و مدینتی استحصال و تزید
ایتمک شرطیله تعالی ایدن انگلیز عنصریله
اقوام شرقیه بی اسیر ایتمکله جهانگیرلگی
قورمش اولان عنصر بیننده کی مصادمه نك
هم لابد و همده قریب الوقوع اولدینی اثبات
ایلمشدر .

بو دهشتی مصادمه نك نتیجه سی
ایسه ایکی رقیب عنصر دن برینک مظفریتی
تأمین ایدم جگندن و برنجینک مظفریتی
توئن انسانیتک تکلمنه خادم اولمقله برابر
اقوام شرقیه نك شهرا ارتقاسنی کشاد
و ایکنجینک غالبیتی ایسه مدینت عمومیه نك
توقفنی و عموم اقوام شرقیه نك تحملاکداز

بر ربه محکومیه گیرمسنی اتاج ایله جگندن
اهل شرق ، علی الخصوص برنجی حمله نك
محل وقوعی و بری انسانیتک حرینتی دیگرى
اسارتی استحصال ایچون بوغاز بوغاز
گله جک ایکی عنصرک قانیه بویانه جق
اولان منطقه اهالیسی که کمالاً مسلماندر غافل
واقبال و استقبالی الک خطرلی برحاله قویه
جق بویله بر مصادمه نك اهمیتنی تقدیر
خصوصنده بیگانه بولنه ماز . بو احتمال
قارشى هر مسلم علی الخصوص هر عثمانی
ماضیده کی احوال و وقوعات سیاسیہ بی
مقیاس طوته رق منافع آیه سنی ، تأمین
ایتمک ایچون نه گبی تشبثات و توسلاته

محتاج اوله جغنی تعین ایتملیدر ، عالم اسلامیتی
اساسندن صارصه جق بو ملجمه کبرایه
گیریشه جک هر قوم و دولتک منافع
ملیه سنی ، مسلک سیاسی سنی آداب و اخلاق
قومیه سنی تدقیق ایله هانکیسنک اسلامیته
فائده سی ، هانکیسنک مضرتی اوله بیله
جگنی ، هانکیسنک موجودیت سیاسیہ سی
اقبالیه قابل تألیف ، هانکیسنک تکملی
عناصر شرقیه نك ، اضمحلالی مستلزم اوله
جغنی تدقیق و تعمیق ایلمکدر . دولت
عثمانیه ایسه شرق و غرب بیننده کی
اختلافات مزمنه و مهاجمات متقابلیه نهایت
و بر مک ایچون آره بره گیرمک ، غریبک

مدینتی قوجا قلامش، شرفک جیم مشکانه
آرقه منی طیانمش و مصالح قوی العزم اوله
رق اورتایه چیقماق و عالم اسلامیتک علویت
وسمادتتی ضامن اولان دین محمدینک
حارسی، خلافت اسلامییه نك حازری
بولماق گبی بر قوت وصفته مالک اولدیغندن
کندی منافع خصوصیه سنی و شرفک منابع
عمومییه سنی تألیف ایدمک بر مسلك
جدی طوتملیدر.
شمدی دولت عثمانیه نك منافعی نقطه
نظرندن باقهرق امور ثریقه ده علاقه دار
اولان و شرجه توسیع اقتدار یولنده رقابت
دائمه ده بولان دول مختلفه نك احوالی تدقیق

ایده لم . بونلرک برنجیسی واک قوتلیسی
انگلتره، ایکنجیسی روسیه، اوچنجیسی
فرانسه ودر دنجیسی بونلرک تشعب
ایتدیگی هولانداذر . انگلتره جزیره اولمق
اعتباریله هر درلو تعرضات خارجیه دن
مصون اولمق گبی بر خصوصیت حاله مالک
اولمقله برابر قوه بحریه سنه استناد ایدرک
هیچ کیسه نك ال اوزاته میه جفی ممالک
و سیعه نی استیلا ایتماق و عصر سابقک صوک
ریتمنده کی امریقا اختلالی اوزریتنه وار قوتی
هندک استملاکنه و اقصادی شرجه اولان
مناسبات تجاریه سنك تکثیر و توشیقنه حصر
ایلمشدر . بومستملکات جسیمه نك

مواردات و مواصلاتی قوه بحریه نك ضمانی
تحتنده بوانوب هر درلو تعرضدن مصون
بولدیغی فقط جهت تهدید ممالک عثمانیه
و هندستانده اجرای حکومت ایتک قوت
واستعدادینی حاز ییگانه بر عنصر واریسه
اوده اورانک مسلمانی اولدیغی جهتمله انگلتره
دولت عثمانیه نك اهمیتی و کندوسنه ظاهر
و ممین اولمق شرطیله کسب قوت و شوکت
ایلمسك منفعتی ده اگچن عصر ایچنده
تقدیر ایتمشیدی . بو تقدیراتک آثار فعلیه
سنی نصل گوستردیگنی دولتمزک صوک
عصرک تاریخ سیاسینی اثبات ایدر .
پیوک (ناپولیون) انگلتره نك قوتی

قیرمق ایچون حاضر لادینی قوه جنودییه .
سنی ممالک عثمانیه، توجیهله مصری استیلا
و هندستانی تهدید ایتدی : انگلتره قوه
بحریه سیله فرانسه دوتخاسنی (ابوخور)
پیشگاهنده یاقوب بیتور دکن صوکره
(سلیمان حاجی) خنچرینک قربانی اولان
جنرال (قله بر) ک قومانداسنده کی فرانسه
عسکرینی کیلریزه مارکاب و فرانسه یه اعاده
ایلدی .

یونانستانک استقلالانی استیصال
ایچون حرباً مداخله ایدن و ناوارینده دولت
عثمانیه دوتخاسنک محوینه سبب مستقل
اولان فرانسه قوه بحریه دن بحر رومیه زدن

استفاده ایدرك در حال جزایر غربی المزدن
الدقن صوكره تكرار مصره گوز ديكدی.
مصر والیسی (محمد علی) پاشایی
ایاقلندیروب آمالنه خادم اوله یلمك ایچون
عثمانلی تختی یله احراز ایتك امیدنی ویردی.
انگلتره دولت عثمانیه نك موجودیتنی
تهدید ایدن غوائلك مهجی اولان بو
مصر مسئله سنده دوست بر دواته عاند
قوری بر مظاهرهت سیاسیة گوسترمك
اكتفا ایلمدی. وکلاسنی بحر و بر امراسنی،
سفراسنی، سیاسی مأموریتنی دولت عثمانیه
نك خدمتته تخصیص ایتدی. انسانك لندن
كله جك نه غیرت، نه همت وار ایسه هیچ

بریسنی دریغ ایتیارك (خنكار اسكله سی)
معاهده سنك حاوی اولدینی سم قانك ده ،
آرقه سنی فرانسیه طیاعش اولان محمد
علینك بربرنجی ولی ایدن مظفریاتی ده تأثیر سز
بر اقدی . وعاقبت سلطنت عثمانیه نك
استقلالانی و دواتك تمامیت ملیکیه سنی لوندره
معاهده سیله روسیه و فرانسه داخل اولدینی
حالده عموم آوروپا دولترینه تصدیق
ایتدیردی . روسیه چورومش عدایتدیکی
جسم دولته تازه حیات ویره جك یکی بر
عنصرك التحاقنه مانع اولمق ایچون (محمد
علی) نك خروج واستیلاسنه مقاومت
اچمه . دولات عثمانیه بر دها اثر حیات

گوسترمیه جك بر حاله گمش اعتقادنده
بولنه رق سونمكده بولنش ایكن انتقام
اداره یه حائل اولان سوء استعمالات داخلیه
نهایت ویرن و شهراه ارتقایی كشاد ایلیان
(تنظیمات خیریه) نك وضع ونشر یله برار
دولت خارق العاده بر قوت وشوكت
كسب ایلمكه باشلادیغندن دولتی امر
ونهمیه تابع بر حاله قویق و یاتون تیون
ایتك عزمنده بولندی . و بر طرفدن
دولت علیه یی تابعیت مطلقه سنه ایلدیره جی
تکالیفی منعی قوف واسطه سیله قبول
ایتدیرمكه و دیگر طرفدن مصرله گرید
جزیره سنی بخش و ترك ایتك حاضر

بولندیغنی گوسترمككه انگلتره یی جلبه
قالقشدی .

انگلتره روسیه ایمپراطورینك نظریات
وتكلیفاتی قبول ایتدكدن بشقه فرانسه نك
ارض فلسطینجه اولان حقوق قدیمه سنه
قارشى روسیه نك در میان ایتدیکی ادعاری
ردله موقعنی تحکیم وبوسایه ده (بوناپارط)
خاندانك حق سلطنتی علیه سنده بولنان ویانه
معاهده سنك احکامنی اسقاط ایلمك آرزو .
سنده بولنان اوچنجی ناپولیونك گوستردیگی
استعداددن بالاستقادد قریم محاربه سنی
میدانه گتوردی .

فرانسه ایمپراطوری اوچنجی ناپولیون

مجرد تخت و تاجی تحکیم ایچون محتاج
اولدینی مناسبات سیاسیہ تی تأسیس و توسیع
ایتمک اوزرد انگلترہ نیک اتحادیہ گووہ نیک
آچش اولدینی محاربہ تی عین مقصد
خصوصی تی تأمین ایچون روسیہ نیک اتفاق
سودا سنہ دوشہرک قیامتہ قالمش اولدینی
حالدہ انگلترہ قریم ایله قفقاسیہ تی روسیہ نیک
الندن قویاروب دائما روسیہ تی مقاومت
ایده یلہ جک برہیت اسلامیہ قویہ تشکیل
ایتمکدن وقرہ دکزی روسیہ گولی اولمق
احتمال واستمدادنن چیچار مقصدن عبارت
اولان مقصد علوی تی تعقیب ایدرک بویله
بر نتیجہ تی استحصال ایتمدن اولدہ ترک

مخاصمہ یہر اضی اولمہ جینی و دوات عثمانیہ
نیک آتیشنی تأمین ایده جک بر صورت
صلح استحصال اولنمزه دوات عثمانیہ ایله
یالکریاشنہ قالہرق محاربہ یہ دوام ایده جگنی
فرانسیہ یہ دہ ، اوستریایہ دہ آکلا تمشیدی .
انگلترہ نیک بو عزم و ثباتی دولت عثمانیہ تی
ایک مساعد شرائطلہ مصالحہ نیک عقیدہ
و حوزہ دولیہ تی دخولیہ استیقلال اداره
سنک عموم اوروپا نیک ضمانتی تختہ آیرلدیسنہ
سبب اولدی . غریبدرکہ ایمپراطور ناپولیون
دولت عثمانیہ نیک تمامیت ملکیہ سنہ کافل
اولان پارس معاہدہ سنک مرکبی قورو .
ماش و اوغوردہ دوکیلان قانلری یوزندن

سیلنامش اولدینی خالدہ طونس ایله طرابلس
غرب و توانی مؤخرالندن آلمق اوزرہ
سار دنیاہ ویرمک وفاسی فرانسیہ
ومصری انگلترہ تی آدیرق تکلیفیندہ
بولندی .

لورد پالمستون ایسہ پارس قونقرہ
سندہ برنجی مرخص صفتیلہ بولنان انگلترہ
خارجیہ ناظری لورد کالزاندون ایسہ :
«لورد قوولئی آفریقہ حقندہ کی»
«تکلیفی رد ایتمک میزایمپراطورہ بیان»
«ایچون نہ قدر استعجال ایدر ایسہ اوقدر»
«خیرلیسدر ! احتمالدرکہ بر چوق ممالک»
«فرانسیہ نیک ، انگلترہ نیک ، ساردنیانک»

«ادار سنہ گچہ جک اولور ایسہ دہاز یادہ»
«مسعود اولور . اوزاغده گیتمگہ»
«حاجت یوقدر . ایتالیا ، سچلیا ، اسپانیا»
«بیولک مثالدر . فقط فرانسیہ ایله انگلترہ»
«بینندہ جایگیر اولان اتفاقک اشیتی ایکی»
«دولتک قوہ بحریہ و بریہ سندن زیادہ»
«بو اتفاقک اساس اولان قوہ معنویہ تی»
«سننددر . اتفاقدن مقصد ناحق تعرضاتہ»
«مقاومت ایتمک زبون و ظالمی غالبک»
«نیمہ تحکمن سن قورتارمق ، دولتلرک»
«موازنہ ملکیہ حاضرہ سن محافضہ ایلمکدر»
«فاسی فرانسیہ تی ، طونسله ممالک سار دینی»
«سار دنیاہ ، مصری انگلترہ تی ضبط»

« ايتدير مكله لمستان اصول مقاسمه سنى »
 « آفريقا قطعه سنده تطبيقه نصل جراتياب »
 « اوله بيلورز : على الخصوص انگلتره »
 « ايله فرانسه كه تركستانك تماميت ملكيه »
 « سنى تعهد ايتمشلردر . بو ايكي »
 « دولت عثمانلى پادشاهنك حقوق حكمران »
 « نيسنه تعرض ايتمه . صر و طونسى لندن »
 « قوبارمنه قالمش سنى ايچون هانكى حقه »
 « استناد ايدم بيلورز » ما ائسده بر مکتوب
 يازدردق ايمپراطورك تركستانك مقاسمه سنى
 و بحر سفيده سواحل جنوبيه سنك مسلمان
 اداره سندن چيقارلمى حقه ده كي تكاليف
 غريبه سنى شدتله رد ايلدى .

روسيه پارس معااهده سنك احكامنى
 فسخ ايتدير مك و ايكي دولت پيئنده كي
 اتفاق بوزمق همتى فرانسه دن بكيه رك بر
 قاج سنده تانى ايتمش ايسه ده ناپوليونك
 انگلتره اتفاقى قولايقله فدا ايدميه جگى
 آكلانجه دولت عثمانيه نك اداره سنده قارشى
 اتهامات بطاريالىنى چويروب سرميادن
 دها موثر اولان نوطه لرى ياغدير منغه باشلا
 مش و ايتدار و ملرى صوكرده اسلام لرى
 بحر يكله گريد اختلافي و هرسك بو سنده
 قيامنى ميدانه چيقارمشدر . بو ايكي اختلااك
 تسكيننه و هله بوسنده هرسك و قايى
 اوزرينه اوچ ايمپراطورك اثر اتفاقى و نتيجه

مذاكراتى اوله رق ابتدا قونت (اندراشى)
 طرفندن ترتيب و قابينه لره تبليغ اولسان
 نوطه و مؤخر ابرايينده تنظيم اولنوب دول
 معامه نك قبولنه مظهر اولان معهود لايحه
 مندرجاتى حكيم بر اقيق ايچون انگلتره
 نك تك باشنه مجاهده ايدوب موفق اولسى
 انگلتره پوليقيقه سنك نه درجه ده مقين
 اولدينى اثبات ايدر تشبثات سيالسيه
 دندر .

وقتيا كه روسيه كندى متابعنه
 مساعد گوردى كي اوروپا پوليقيقه سنك و تر
 كستان اداره داخليه سنك رانقلاب عظيمه
 اوغرامق استعدادى حس ايدوب فرصتى

قاجير مامق ايچون جهانك محو و ظيت عموميه
 سنده منظر اولمش اولان بنى دولت عثمانيه نى
 تك باشنه يقمى گوزينه آلدى .
 انگلتره بلغارستان وقائع مؤلمه سنك
 تاثيرى اوزرينه افكار عموميه نك عليه مزده
 بولمى جهيله فعلاً و حرباً معاونت ايدم
 بيلمك امكانى كورمديگندن على پاشانك
 ضياعندن صوكرده اداره مركزيه جه اولان
 يولمى نكلرلك آچمش اولدينى ياردلرى قپانه
 جق و ناييله گمش افكار عموميه نى تسكين
 ايدم جك تدابير اصلاحيه نك سرعت اتخاذ
 و تطبيقى توصيه ايتمكله برابر بوبايده كي
 تكاليف واقعه رد اولمى قدن و اوروپانك

تکلیف ایستدگی اصلاحات خصوصیه رینه
عمومه شامل اولق و دنیانک امنیت
و اعتمادی جلب ایتک اوزره اعلان ایدیلان
اصلاحات اساسی نك ماهیت و قوتی ازاله
ایدلکدن سوکرده یالکز باشنه قالد جغنی
بیلدیگی دولت عثمانیه بی روسیه یه اذرما-
مک ایچون محاربه نك وقوعی احتمالی بر
طرف واختلافی وسائط سیاسیه ایله حل
ایتک چاره سنی استحصالی ایلمشیدی .
بویولده اولان سیمی و غیرتی بر درجه یه
کلشیدی که حییات انسانیت پرورانه یه مغلوب
اولان انگلیز افکار مفرطه اصحابی اتهم
و خرسایانلق غیرتی گودن اوروپا مطبوعات

انگلتره اداره سیله انگلیز ملتنی عادتاهند
اشمش ، مسلمانله نمش و صلیب تاجنی مسلمان
صارینه دگشدرمش گبی سوزلایله تزییف
ایتیکه قالدشمه شیدی .
انگلتره دولتی محاربه یه اشتراک ایده .
میه جگنی بک قطعی و پک رسمی بر صورتله
بیلدیرمش بیلوندره پروتوقولی ایله محاس-
ربه یه لزوم و محل بر اقدیر مامش اولدینی
حالتله دولتک بونی ردله بونجه مصائب
دخراشه سببیت ویرن محاربه یه گیرشمسی
تاریخک قولایقله تاویل و عفو ایده میه جگنی
خطیئات و سیئات سیاسیه دندر . بونجه
برابر کندی اختیار منزله دعوت اولنش

بر بلایه دوشدکدن وایکی طرف بیننده
مخاصمات باشلادقین سوکرده انگلتره
محاربه نك دولت عثمانیه نك اضمه جلال تامیله
ختم بولمسته امکان بر اقیه جق تأمینانی
استحصالدن گیر و قالدی . روسیه انگلتره نك
بیطرفلقدن چیقمسندن فوق العاده توهم
ایلدیگندن بو بیطرفانی تأمین ایچون هر درلو
تهداته گیرشمکه مجبوریت گورمش اولد
یغندن استانبول ایله هند طریق مواردتنی
هیچ بر صورتله اشغال و تهدید ایدلییه جگنه
دائر تأمینات قویه طوغریدن طوغری یه
ایمپراطور طرفندن ویرلدیگی گبی مصره
و قرت واد سیله بصره کور فزینده هیچ

بر صورت و نامله تعرض وقوع بولمیه جنی
دولت عثمانیه روس عسکری بلقان سلسله-
سنگ جهت جنوبیه سنه کچر دن اول صلحه
طالب اولور ایسه اوغرا دیغز مقامیه یه
محل بر اقیه جق شرائط خفیفه ایله در حال
ترک مخاصمه و عقد مصالحه ایدیله جگنی هم
ایمپراطور و هجده روسیه دولتی نامه تعهد
ایدلشیدی . انگلتره نك بو خدمت و همتندن-
ده استفاده ایدیله مدی ایسه ده روسیه نك
(ای استفانوس) معاهدده سی گبی مهلك
و عادات هیئت دولتك اعدای حکمتی متضمن
بر اعلام سیاسیه نك حکم سر قالمسی انگلتره نك
دوئما ایله استانبولک امدادینه یتشمسی

وطولبرینی (آی استفانوس) ده بولاناز روس
اردوسنه چویرمسی سایه سنده اولدینی
عموم عثمانلیر هم تصدیق و هم ده الی الابد
لسان شکرانله یادیدرلر .

انگلتره مرکز سلطنت اولان استانبول
شهرینی روسیه نك ضربه یدندن قورتار-
دقدن وروم ایلی ایلاتی اوروپا موازنه
عمومیه نك استقرارینه خادم اوله حق بر
حاله قویقدن صوکرده روسیه نك تهدیدی
آتنده قالان آسیای عثمانی به حصر نظر
اهمیت ایش و ممالک شاهانه جه جدی
و عمومی اصلاحات ملکیه اجرایی تهد
وانگلز عسکرینک آسیای عثمانی به قریب

بر موقع حاکمه اقامتی تأمین اولفق و او
موقع حاکم دائرة ملکیه عثمانیه دن خارج
طولماق شرطیله روسیه نك تعرضات
آیه سنه قوه بریه و بحریه سیله مقابله ایتمگی
تهدایلهش و براین معاهده سی تنظیم اولنزدن
اول بو تعهدات متقابله یی متضمن اولان
قبریس معاهده سی عقد و امضا ایدلمش
ایدی . قبریس گبی جسم و مهم برجزیره یی
فدا ایتک مقابله انگلتره ایله عقد اولان
شو تدافعی اتفاق شمدی به قدر ثمره
وفائده سی گورلماش ایسه ده بو اتفاق جسم
دولت ایچون مزمن و مهملک اولان سوء
اداره مرضنک التیانی واجل هائل گبی

دائما گوزمنک اوکنده تجسم ایدن روسیه
تعرضات و مضراتنک اندفاعی تأمین
ایلدیگندن عثمانلیر نظر نده سلامت آیه لرینه
مدار بر مسمک قیمتدار اوله رق نلق اولتور .
شمدی کله لم عالم اسلامیت ایچون ک
جانلی ، انگلتره ایله دولت عثمانیه بنتده
روابط حب و موالاتنک تحکیمه ، مناسبات
سیاسیه نك دوامنه خدمت ایدن مسائلک
اک اهمیتلی اولان مصر مسئله سنه :
دولت عثمانیه موجودیت سیاسی سنک
انگلتره منافع ملیه سنه اولان خدمتنک
درجه سی انگلتره جه تقدیر اولدینی . مشهور
لورد چاتامک : « دولت عثمانیه نك تمامیت

ملکیه سنک اهمیت وفائده سی تقدیر ایتیان
انگیزه مجنون نظریله باقوب توجیه خطابه
بیله تنزل ایتیم « سوزلریله انگلتره مسلک
سیاسی سی تعین ایلدیگی گوندنبر و انگلتره
نظری حاکمیت عثمانیه مدارینک ایکی نقطه
احتراقی اولان استانبول بوغازلریله مصره
معطوف اولمشدر . سؤیش جدولنک کشادی
مصر نك ذاتا حائز اولدینی اهمیت موقعیه سی
برقات دهها آتروش اولدینی گبی انگلتره .
نک ده بو خطه مهمه نك ممالک عثمانیه به
دوام ارتباطی حقننده کی آرزو والتزام
جدیسی تقویه ایتشیدی .

قدر گسب قدرت ایلش اولان محمد علی نیک
عادی بر ایالت والیسی . نزه سنه ایندی رلمسنه
ومصر والیک نیک محمد علی عائله سنه توارث
حقنک مجرد قوانین عمومیّه دولته تبعیت
مطلقه وذات پادشاهی یه صداقت کامله
گوسترمک قید یله مقید ومشروط اولمسنه
سبب مستقل اولان او انگلتره محمد علی عائله
سنه مخصوص بر حق توارثدن عبارت اولان
بر امتیازک مصر اداره سنک مختاریته منقلب
اولدیفنسه دلالت ایده جک شکل و قالبه
افراغنه اخیراً گوستریلان مساعدات کوته
ماندناست اید ایده جک مضرات سیاسیّه نی

گیر و قالمه شدرد . فرانسه ایسه اوتیه دنبرو
بحر سفید حاکم لگنی قورمش و بو آمال
ملیه سنک حصو ایچون آفریقا سواحل شمالیه
سنی بویدن بویه ضبط و تسخیر عزم مننده
بولندیغنی تا (سن لوی) زمانسندن بو گونه
قدر گلان حکمدار لک و تأسس ایدن هیئت
اداره لک جمله سنک تفوهات رسمیه
وتشبیات سیاسیّه لر یله اثبات ایلمشدر .

فرانسه بر این قونفره سندن نصیبسز
چیقادیغندن منفعل اولوب جبر نقصان ایچون
طونسی المزدن قویاروب آلدی . و حقوق
حکمرانینک مدافعه سیچون دوختای همایونک
سوق واعزامی احتماله قارشنی دوختامزک

برایکجه ناواریته گوندریله جگنی رسدایانله
دولت عثمانیه یی تهدید و مصرجه اولان آمال
استیلا جویانه سندن فارغ اولدیننی اثبات
ایلدی . انگلتره فرانسه نیک شو معاملات
وتشبیاتنه قارشنی تبصر و احتیاطی هر وقتدن
زیاده آرتیره رق گوزینی مصره عطف ایتیش
اولدیننی صرده ده معهود عرابی واقعه سی
باش گوسترمشیدی . بو وقعه عادی بر
زمانده اهمیتدن عاری طویله بیلورسه ده
مصر مالک حقیقی سنک دهشت انگیز بر
حربک تأثیرات جانسوزینی هنوز ازاله
ایتمدیگی ، مصر اداره خدیویه سنک مظالم
بر بحران مالی ایله نچولشدیگی و فرانسه نیک

طونسی استیلا ایتدیگی بر زمانه تصادف
ایلدیگندن انگلتره یه بویک اندیشه لر ویره .
جک درجه ده اهمیتلی ایدی . بونکله برابر
انگلتره مصرجه دولت عثمانیه نیک حقوق
حکمرانینک تحکیم و تقویه سندن باشقه بر
مقصد تمقیب ایتدیگندن عرابی قیام نیک
تسکینی ایچون ده قوه عثمانیه نیک استعمالندن
باشقه چاره آرامدی . فرانسه ایسه مداخله
عثمانیه یه شدتله مخالفت و برتک ترک نفر .
نیک بیله صره آباق باصمسنه راضی اولیه
جغنی بیان ایتیکله طونسندن مصره کچمک
وسن لوی انتقامی یارم بر اقامق آرزو سنده
بولندیغنی گوسترمش وانگلیر لک اندیشه سی

برقائدها آرتير مشيدى انگلتره نك . مصر جه
گوسه تريگى جديتله قابل تاليف اولميان
فرانسه نك . ملو نانه و منافقانه حركى و دولت
حاكمه نك تردد و تائيسى مسئله نى مخابرات
رسميه و مكالمات دوليه يه دوشور مش
وارباب قيامك وضعيت و جرائى انگلتره نى
قوة جبريه استعمالنه مجبور قيله حق درجه يه
واردير مش ايدى . فرانسه دوتماس نك
انگليز دوتماسيله ياك ياكه حركت ايتمكده
ايكن اسكندريه نك طويه طويه جنى
هرده اسكندريه دن آريلوب قايچى
واسه تانبولده اجتماع ايدن قونفرانس قوة
عثمانيه نك مصره سوقيله حق حكمرانينك

استعمالى و وظيفه متبوعيتك ايفاسى قرارينى
بالاتفاق دواته عرض و تكليف ايلديگى حا .
لده بو پوليقيكه نك فرانسه منافى ايچون مهلك
اولديغى اثبات ايدمك يولده مذاكراتك
پارس پارلمنتوسنده جريان ايتسى فرانسه نك
يگانه مقصدى سلطنت سنيه نك آفريقاچه
اولان حقوق حكمرانيسنى اسقاط ايتش
و خلافت اسلاميه نك رابطه و نفوذنى رفع
وازاله اولديغى ميدانه چيقار مشدر .

استانبولده كى قونفرانس دولتى
مصره عسكر سوقنه دعوت ايتمك قرارينى
ويرديگى هرده پارس پارلمنتوسى اجتماع
ايدمك فرانسه نك نافذ الكيلى و افكار

عموميه سنك ترجمانى اولان مشهور (غامبتا)
شو يولده اداره اسان ايدر : « قونفرانس
مصرى تسكينه تركى مامورايتك قرارينى
ويرمك احتمالى وارد . نجه بو قرار فرانسه .
نك قبول ايتيه جگى لك مضر قراردر .
تركى اهراملك اوكنه تكرار گتورمك
بزم ايچون طونسده و جزايرده آتشله اوينا
مقدر . تركى فرانسه سنجاني آتشنده
اوله رق مصره تكرار گوترمك ، تكميل
شرقه خليفه سنك حاكم كن اولمشدر
ديمكدر . فرانسه نك الله سنه لك پوليقيكه
سنى ، خير ياكليوزم ، فرانسه نك نيل
واديسنده كى برقاق عصرلق پوليقيقه سنى احما

ايتمكدر . اگر بر مصيبت اولق اوزره
سلطانك ، خليفه نك منتظم طاوورلر نى تكرار
جامع ازهر اوكنده گوره جك اولور ايسهم
فرانسه نك مصرجه اولان آمانسه ، مصر
ده كى فرانسزلرك احرازشان و حاكميت
ايلمى حقه نده كى تمنياتمه الوداع ديمك . گمز
لازم گلور . « بونطق فرانسه نك مصرجه
اولان آمالنى و مقام خلافت قارشى بسليديگى
حسياتنى تشريحه لزوم برافيه حق صورتده
تصوير ايتمشدر .

فرانسه نك شو حسيات نغريبيه
انگلتره نك دولت عثمانيه ايله اتحاد نافعنه
ايراث تقيصه ايدمك وسائل تحريسي

آرزو سنده بولانلرك تسويلاقي مصر مسئله
سنجه تابدايتدبر وتوالى ايدن خطيئاتك
ظهوريته بادي اولان احوال لدينهك
ماهيتي ومؤخرًا تنظيم ايديلان وقرالجه
نك قبول وتصديقنه اقتران ايدن (دروموند
وولف) اتلافنامه سنك تعاطيسنه فرانسه
سفيرينك مانعت ايلمسنك علتني تعينه كافيدر
(مصر مسئله مهمه سي بشقه جبهه تدقيق
ورسالة مخصوصه ايله نشر ايديله جگسندن
بو بابدهكي خطيئات وانندن متولد مسئليات
آيريجه گوستريله جكدرد)
مصر برهيت قويه اسلاميه نك وجود
ينه ، قوه قدسيه خلافتك دوانه نه قدر خادم

ايسه انگلتره اتفاق واتلافي دخي بو هيت
قويه نك موجودتي دولت عثمانيه نك
حيات سياسييه سي ايچون اوقدر لازمدر .
مصر ك انگليزلرله اولان اتحاد واتلافك
دوامنه مانع فرض اولسي عالم اسلاميت
ايچون نه قدر بيوك بر فلاكت ايسه دولت
عثمانيه ايچون اوقدر بيوك بر مصيبتدر .
بو حاله قارشى هر مسلمان ، هر عثمانلي نه
قدر تاثير گوسترسه مجادر . بونكله برابر
اختلافك اتلافه منقلب اولسنه مانع اولان
مشكلات عار ضيه نك اندفاعندن ومنافع
مقابله نك الجات مبرمه سندن اولان رابطه
صحيحه نك اعاده واستقرارندن اميدوار دكل

عادتا مطمئن اولمقله متسلي يز .
انگلتره مصرى قوه عسكريه سيله
اشغال ايدى ، اداره عموميه سنه نظارت
حقننده مطلق العنان اوله لي اون سكز سنه در
بونكله برابر مصر ك مقام معلاي خلافته
اولان ارتباط معنويى واجزاي متممه
مهمه سندن اولديني دولت عثمانيه اولان
رابطه ملكيه وسياسيه سي محفوظ قالمشدر .
اداره خديويه عامه يه امنيت بخش اولمحق
حتى ممالك شرقيه نك جمله سندن زياده
مصرده حكم فرما اولان نفوذ ومداخلات
اجنبيه ني تقيص ايدهك بر حال انتظامه
گامشدر . « وشاورهم في الامر » حكم

جلياته اتباعه وبو حكمت حكومت قرآنيه
دائر سنده اجراي حكومت سايه سنده فوز
وفلاحله مبشر اولان هر هيت اسلاميه
ايچون واجب الامتثال اولان اصول
مشورت مقدماتي موقع تطبيقه قونلمشدر .
دين محمد نك ، مدنيت حاضره نك ضامن
اولديني آداب عموميه ، حقوق مدنيه ،
حریت شخصيه محافظه اولمقله برابر حریت
فكر ك ، حریت كلامك حریت نشر ك ،
شرقده وعالم اسلاميتده ممكن التطبيق
اولديني اثبات اولمشدر .

مصر ارباب قلمك ، مصر مطبوعات
اسلاميه سنك على الخصوص مصر منافع

عمومیه سنی محافظه یوننده کی مجاهدات
متنابعه سیه کسب اشتهار ایلمش (المؤید)
محرر حیاتکارک حسیات تعالی پرورانه.
لرینک تمثال مجسمی اوله رق نلق ایتدیگم
نشریات وتظلماتی تقدیس ایدرز . فقط
بوفغان وفریاد لرینی هر شیئه اعتراض
ایده ییلمک صلاحیت لرینی بخش وتأمین ایدن
بر حریت کامله یه نائل اولدوقدرینه دلیل
طوتدیغمزی ده کند لرینه اخطاره مجبورز .
انگاتره نك مصره شو مداخله سی ،
مصرک تکملنه ، مصریونک ترقیسنه اولان
شو خدمتی منافع تجاریه سنک ، مواصلات
بحریه سنک تأمین مقصدینه مبنی اولدیغنده

شبهه یوقدر . فقط مادامک انگیلز لر باشلرنده
فس ، اوکار نده هلال اولدینی حالده دائره مصر
یه نی که اضافتی جهتیه دائره عثمانیه دیمکدر ،
آنی توسیع و آفریقاه منطقه اسلامیه سنی تشکیل
ایدن سودانک رابطه اتحادینی تحکیم و بو
منطقه نك عناصر اسلامیه سنی تنویره سعی
ایدیورلر . بو خدمات مهمه نك کند لرینه
بخش ایده جگی متافعی تأمینله برابر منافع
مقابلله مقتضاسندن اولان اتحاد وائتلافی
عالم اسلامیت ایچون محض نعمت ، دولت
عثمانیه نك بقای موجودیتی ایچون یگانه
چاره سلامت اوله رق قبول ایتک لزومی
انتراف ایررز .

انگاتره نك اداره جه اولان مسلك
اعتدالکارانه سندن ، مسلك تعالی پرورانه
سندن کافه مستملکات ومستعمرات
واسعه سی واندہ متمکن بولنان اهالی
متنوعه نك علی الخصوص حازر موقع مهم
اولان اقوام اسلامیه نك استفادہ ایتدکلری
قابل انکار دگلدر .
هندستانی اله آلم بیارم عصر اول هند
مستملکه جسیمه سی قومپانیه نك لندن
آلویب انگاتره دولتک اداره سنه التوجفی
صرده ده اساس اداره سی موقع مذاکره
قونیا مشیدی . او وقتک باش وکیلی ومحافظه
کار فرقه سنک رئیس بولنان لورد (داربی)

انکاتردنک هند اداره سنجه اولان نظریاتی
آئیده کی نطق ایله تصویر وتعیین ایتشد .
« هند اقوامی البته آوروپا اصول
اداره سندن استفادہ ایده جک بر حاله
گلماشدر . فقط بوگون قبول ایده جگم
بر حقیقت وار ایسه اوده هند قومی اداره
اور داخله لرینه فعلاً اشتراک ایده ییلمک
عقل وحکمتک مساعدہ ایله جگی درجه ده
واقع بر اقتداری احراز ایلملری اسبابنک
استحصانه چالشقی بزم ایچون انسانیت ،
اخلاق ودیانت منافعنک ایجاب ایتدیردیگی
بر وظیفه اولدیغنی اعتراف ایتمکدر . بو
اقوام انگاتره حکومتک ، انگاتره قانونک

تحت حمایت سنده استعمال حق اداره ایتمکله
انگلتره قانونی تقدیره ، انگلتره قانونی
تقلیده و بلکه برگون اولورده اندن ده
مکمل بر قانون وضعنه موفق اولورل .
اگر بوملتک امور داخله لرینی اداره ایتمک
حقنی تدریجا احراز ایتمسک نتیجه سی امور
عدلیه سندن بشقه امور سیلسیه سنه دخی
دها جدی ، دها واسع بر صورتله اشتراک
ایتمی آرزوسنک حصولی اوله حق اولورسه
هندلیرک آمال و احتیاساتی انگلتره نك
هندستانجه اولان قدرت و حکومتنک
سقوطنی بيله انتاج ایده جک درجه ده
توسع ایده جک اولورسه بوگون ل قدرته

هندستانده حکم فرمالولان انگلتره حکومتی
برقاچ عصر صوکره کنسی الیه انتخار
ایده جک اولورسه هندستان اقوامنی ظلمت
جهلدن ، ربقه بطلاندن قورتارمش
و صورت استعمال واستفاده سنی تعلیم
ایتمش اولدیمز اصول و قوانین عدلیه نك
تأثیرینه صورت مستقلانه ده اداره اوله ییلمک
اقتدارینی کنسیدلیرینه احراز ایتمدیرمش
اوله جنمزدن ملت معظمه مز دلما شرفی
وهندلیرک دئما بزه قارشی منتدار قاله جقدر .
بویله نظریات علویه مستند اولان بر اصول
اداره نك تطبیقات و ثمراتی ده البته علوی
اولور . نعمت عدالتدن حصه مند اولمق ،

شرف انسانیتی تقدیره مانع اولان احوال
معنوییه ، مقاصد سیاسییه ، معتقدات
باطله نی آزر آزر تعدیل و رفع ایلمک ، انسانک
مساعی متوالیه سندن منتظر اولان تکمل
و تمدن شهره نی آچق گئی نیات علویه ،
نظریات حکمییه مستند اولان شو اداره
اوله بر طاقم اعظم رجال سیاسییه تودیع
ایلمشدرکه آنلرک عزیم و همئی منابع ثروت
طبیعیه نك کثرتی ، نفوس اهالی نك وفرتی ،
موقعک اهمیت اعتباریله بر عالم مخصوص
دنیله جک قدر مهم و جسیم اولان هندستانی
صحیحدن ارتقا یولنه قومش وارثی هر
معناییله مدنیتک اقصای مراتبه وصول

بولمق اسبابنی تهیه و تأمین ایلمشدر . یوللر
آچق ، بیوک شهرل تأسیس ایتمک ، انوار
معارفی هر طرفه یایدیرمق ، ثروت و تجارتیه
خادم اولان کارخانه لک شاد ایتمک ، معاملات
و موارداتی تسهیل و تأمین ایده جک وسائط
متنوعه نی بولندیرمق ، امنیت مال و جانی
بخش ایدن قوانینی وضع و نشر ایلمک ،
آنلرک مرعیت احکامنی تأمین ایده جک اداره
ملکیه نی تنظیم ، محاکم عدلیه نی تشکیل
ایتمک ، قدرت حکومتی ، قوت قانونی
هر حال و احتمال قارشی طانتدیره جق قوه
معنویه نی قدرت جنودیه ایله برابر بولندیر .
مق بر جمعیت بشریه نك محتاج اولدینی

مدینتک وسائط تأمینیه سندن معدود ایسه
بونلرک جمله سی هندستانده موجوددر .
فقط انگلیزلر زوم انتظامی طامش، هر جمعیت
مدینه ده موجودیتی لایه اولان بو وسائطی
استحضار له اکتفا ایتماشدر . انسان تام
مدینت ایچنده بولندیغنی ، تام معدلته نائل
اولدیغنی اعتراف ایده یلمک و اوسایه ده
مستریح البال اوله یلمک ایچون عزم و آملی
تراید ایتدجه هیئت حاکمه اداره نلک استعمال
ایتدیگی وصایتک تناقص ایتدیگی گورملی،
هر زمان و مکان ایچون لایتغیر اولان
قوانین اخلاقیه احکامه مخالف اولدجه آمال
و تمیناتی نه قدر واسع اولورسه اولسون

حصولندن امیدسز اولماملی . ایشته آغلوسا .
قسون دینان عنعیرک اقوام سالقه و معاصره ده
گورلماش بر فضیلت مخصوصه سی ، بر
قدرت زکای خارق العاده سی و ارسه اوده
بو دقایق بحق تقدیر و کافه احوال و معاملاتده
بو دقایق دستور امتثال عدا یلمسیدر .
آغلوسا قسئون دینلن طبقه علویه بشریه ،
مدینتک ترقیسنی حریتک درجه سی و حریتک
درجه سی حق وصایتک تدنی استعمالیه مقایسه
و عدالتک درجه مکملیتی انگلیزلک شرفنی
احراز ایتش هر شخصصنده ، هر قومصنده
دائرة آمال و تمیناتک غیر محدود صورتده
قابل اتساع اولمسیله موازنه ایدر . انگلیزلر

بویله علوی بر مسلک انسلک سایه سنده
او درجه ده اقوام سائریه تفوق ایتشدرکه
یالکزی اسکی رومه لیلر کندیلرینه شبیه طوتیه
بیلیر فقط مساوی طوتیه ماز .

رومالیلر کسب قوت و مکنک ایتش
بر ایالت والیسنک تأسیس ایتدیگی اداره یی
رفع ایتک ایچون اردولر سوق ایدردی .
انگلیزلر ایسه دنیا نلک مجهول قطعه لرنده
بر تجار تکاه عظیم تأسیس ، بر دولت
اداره سی تشکیل ایلان بر انگلیزلر منافع
تجاریه سی ، مقاصد سیاسییه سی تأمین ایچون
اردولر سوق ایدر . تمینات و تشبثات
شخصیه دائرة سنک غیر محدود صورتده

اتساع ایده یلمسی ، قوه حاکمه مرکزیه .
نلک اک عادی بر انگلیزلرک محافظه جان و شانه
اک ادانا بر منفعتک تأمین حصوله معطوف
و منحصر اولمسی سایه سنده آغلوسا قسئون
عنصری دنیا ده مثلی گورلماش بر مدینت ،
بر شوکت ، بر حکومت وجوده گتیر .
مشدر .

هند والیلری ایچنده علویت عزم
و حریت فکر ایلله اک زیاده اشتها ایتش
اولان (لورد ریپون) هندستان انگلتره .
نلک اداره سنده بولندجه انگلتره منافعی
تأمین ایده جک اسبابه توسل زومنی اعترافله
برابر هند تبعه سنک انگلتره دن مستغنی

اولیسی یوانی گوسترمک وجوبه ده قائل
اولمش و سلسله اصلاحاتی بوفیکرک تضمین
ایتدیگی حکمتیه توفیق ایلمشدر . (لورد-
ریبون) اداره قریه دن باشلایه رق قریه
لرده عرف و عادتله حکم ایدن هیئت صالحیه
بی ابقا و اداره مالیه و خصوصیات سارمه سی
رؤیتیه مأمور اولان اختیار هیئتلرینک و ناحیه
وقضا مجلسلرینک و شهرده کی بلدییه دائره
لرینک و هند والیه بومبای و ماکراس
والیری نزدنده بولان هیئت ناظم لرینک
تشکیلاتی و اعضا لرنک صورت انتخابی
اصلاح ایتمشدر . بو تشکیلات اداره محلیه
نک انتظام جریانیه و هندلیرک اداره ده

اولان اشتراکنک استحصالیه پک چوق
خدمتی اولمش ایسه ده هندستانک حیات
قومیه سنک مقدمه سی و اداره مالیه سنک
دوره اولیسی دنیلجک برشی وار ایسه
اوده هندستان محبی بولنان بر طاقم انگلیز
اکابر و محررینک سوق و تشویقیله بر قلیچ
سنه دنبرو اجتماعه باشلامش و (قونقره)
نامیله شهرت بولمش اولان مجلس عمومیدر .
بو مجلس عمومی آتی یوزدن بیک
ایکی یوزه قدر اعضایی اولدینی حالده هر
سنه هندستانک مشهور شهر لرینک بریسنده
منابوه صورتیله اجتماع ایدرک سنه سابقه
نک احوالی تدقیق ، نشر اولمش قوانینک

محسناتی مشهود ایسه بیان تشکر ، نوافعی
و مضراتی گورنش ایسه تعریض و اسباب
اصلاحیه بی ارانه ، شکایات سابقه بی تکرار ،
احتیاجات جدیدی تعداد و تذکار ، اداره
ملکیه ، امور نافعیه ، احوال مالیه ، معارف
عمومیه ، حفظ الصحه ، نظامات صنایه
و تجاریه ، خط و وبانکره ، معموریتک ،
حریتک توسمی حقننده کی تدابیری و بویگی
هندستانک احوال اجتماعیه و سیاسیه سنه
متعلق مسائلی تدقیق و مذاکره ایدر و بو
مسائل مهمه حقننده اعضای موجوده دن
اک ناطقه لی ، اک نفوذلی ، ایکی اوچ ذات
طرفدن برر نطق ایراد اولندقدن صوکره

اکثریت آرا ایله برقرار ویریر ، مطبوعات
هندیه ایسه بو مذاکرات و مقرراتی تأخیر
و تنقید ایدرک انظار عمومییه وضع ایلر .
بو مجلس عمومی هندستان اهالیسنک
اداره امور داخلیه سنه تنقید و مراقبه
کسب استحقاق ایلدیگی و اعضای مسلم
نک مذاکرات و مقرراتجه اجرا و اعمال
ایتدکری نفوذی هندستانده کی مسلمانلرک
نفوسجه اکثریتی تشکیل ایدن اهالی
سارمه فائق و هندجه نفوذی مؤثر بر
عنصر اولدینی اثبات ایدر . مسلمانلرک
بو صورتله احراز موقع افتدار و امتیاز ایتدی
شرف دینک اعتلا سنه و دائرة اهتدایک

اٲساغنه بادی اولیور .

انگلتره اداره سنک بخش ایتدیگی حریت
فکر ، حریت کلام ، حریت نشرگی قوتک
تأثیر یله گرک هندستان و گرک مستملکات
و مستعمرات سائر اعلان کلمه الله ایچون
واسع بر میدان جهاد اولمشدر . مسلمان تجار
و اصنافی تجارت و صناعت آرقداشلیری
آراسنده و چراقلری ایچنده ، حجاج و مشایخ
چارشو و یازارده تقین دیانت ایدرلر . (حاجی
محمد) نامنده بر دیندار بر ایکی سنه ظرفنده
ایکی یوز ییکی متجاوز هندسی نی داره
اهدایه آلمه موفق اولمشدر . قاضی ناصر
آباد صفدر علی نامنده دیگر بر ذات

(قدش) شهرینک تکمیل تیمورجی چلنگیر
اصنافه اسلامیتی قبول ایتدیرمشدر .
کلمکوتنه ، بو مبای ، سنگاورگی جسم
شهرلرده تلقین اسلامیه مخصوص کرسیلر
مؤسس اولوب هرگون ادیان و مذاهب
سارنده بولانلر حتی آوروپایلر آقین
آقین گیدوب نور دیانت محمدیه دن استفاضه
ایله هتدایدده گلمکددر . ایشته بوسورتله
هندستانک داره اهداسی توسع و هر سنه
الی ییکدن آتی یوز ییکی قدر جان اهدا
ایدرک یالکز بوسوک اون سنه ظرفنده کی
مرتدیلرک نفوسی اوچ ملیونی تجاوز
اتمشدر .

انگلتره اداره سنک اسلامیه بخش
ایتدیگی شو منافع و فوائد قلوب مسلمانینی
تسلیت و سرورلرله مشحون فیلدینی گی
مقام خلافت کبرانی دخی منت ایچنده
براقشدر . قاضی عسکر احمد خلوصی افندی
مرحومک ، ریاستی تحتنده بر هیئت سفارت
بوندن یگریمی اوتوز سنه اول ترتیب اولمه
رق هندستان و افغانستانه اعظم اولمشیدی .
بو هیئت سفارتک مأموریتی گرک هند
ستانده و گرک افغانستانده بولانلر امر
و علما ورؤسای اسلامیه مقام خلافت کبرا
ایله انگلتره بیننده جایگیر اولان مناسبات
دوستانه نک درجه صمیمیتی اعلامله برابر

عالم اسلامیتک انگلتره ایله اولان اتحاددن
استحصال ایدر جگی فوائدی تعداد و انگلتره
رقباسنک ظهورینه سعی و غیرت ایتدکاری
اختلافک عموم اسلامیت و علی الخصوص
شرق اقوام اسلامیه سی ایچون موجب
فلاکت اوله جغنی اثبات ایلمکدن عبارت
ایدی .
خلافت اسلامیه نامنه آسیا اقوام
وامراء مسلمه سنه اجرا ایدیلن شو
ارشادات دیانت پرورانه و وصایای دوراندیشانه
مقام خلافت کبرانک انگلتره مسلك
سیاسیسی حقنده کی تقدیرات و نظریاتی
تعیین و تصویر ایلمشدر .

او وقتدن بو گونه قدر اولان وقايع
کونه و انقلابات دوليه ايسه بو تقدير اتک
ماهيتنى قطعاً تغيير ايتامشدر. موازنه حاضرده
دنيايى اخلاص ايدهرک تصورات استيلا.
جويانه مه مقاومت ايدن قواي غريبه يوق
حکمنه گيرمشدر. مسلك سياسيسى و شکل
اداره داخليه سى اعتباريله اسارت دشمنى
و حرب حارسى اولمق اقتضا ايدن فرانسه
استبدادک تمثال مجسمى دنيله چک قدر
مستبد اولان بر دواته قارشى زانوزده تملق
اولوب اقوام شرقيه نك آمال واستقلالانى
فدايه وهله عنصر اسلاميه نك جهت جامعه
سى اولان قوه خلافتى رفع وازاله آماده

اولدينى ترددده محل قالميه جق صورتده
اظهار ايتمشدر .

انگلتريه نك . مستملى كاتجه و على الخصوص
مسلمان تبه سى حقه ده كى معاملات و نظرياتى
تصوير ايتدكن صوكره بونك ماهيت
ومزيننى ظاهره چيقارمق ايجون سائر
مسلمان ممالكنه مالك اولان دولترك اداره
و معامله سى ايله مقايسه ايدلم ، و آفريقانك
الك مهم اسلام قطعه سنى تشكيل ايدن جزاير .
دهكى فرانسه ز اداره سندن باشلايه لم :

جزاير غرب فرانسه اداره سته كچلى
تام يتمش سته اولمشدر . بوگون تام
دوت ملون نفوس اسلاميه موجود

بولندينى حالده جزؤ متممى حاله قونلدينى
فرانسه نك اداره نجه دگل كندى
مملكاتلرينك اداره نجه بيله برگونه حق
اشتراكى اولمقدن باشقه دنيا نك الك عادى
بر اداره سى تحتنده بولنان بر قومك نانل
اوله گلدیكى حقوق تصرفيه و شخصيه
تماميله مظهر دگلدر .
فرانسه منتك علويت فكري ،
صفوت وجدانى و حق و عدل يولنده كى
حسيات صميميتكارانه سى منكر دگلدر .
حتى جزايرك بدايت استيلا سنده دها
هيچ بر رده كليسا ياپدير لمانش ايكن مجدداً
جامع بنا ايتدير مك ، حجاج قافله لر نى مجانا

حجازده گتوروب گتير مك ، بر چوق جرايم
وعصيانلره قارشى غمو و رفقله معامله ايتمك
گي لطفلك ابدلى ارباب انصافك خاطر
يشانى اولوب دائماً اساز شكر انله ياد اولنور .
فقط چه فائده كه بو مآثر فتوت ، بو التزام
عدالت يك آز مدت سوروب اداره باشقه
نقارانه تطبيق و جزاير مسلمانلرينك حالى
ديگر گره اولدى . اهالى قديمه يى مزيات
دنيه دن ، كجالات علميه دن تجريد ، هر ديو
مال وملكدن محروم ايتك يواش يواش
سوا لمدن ، شهر و قصباتدن چيقاروب
طاغله سورمك ، يرته فرانسه لر
يراشدير مك ، جزايرى فرانسه طوپراغى

خرستیان مملکتی حاله قویق اساسی اوزرینه
اداریه باشلاندی. جزایر شهرلری استیلادن
صوکره اداره مأمورلری طرفندن اشغال
واملاک، بیوت و اماکن ضبط و غصب
ایدلدی. جزایر قصبه سنک خارجده بر
چوق بجهلر، تارالار عربلرک الندن آلوب
فرانسزلره توزیع ایدلدی. حتی بونلرک
چوغی یکی متصرفلری طرفندن اداره و اعمار
اولنه مدیغدن اسکی اصحابنه اجازه الیه
ویرلمش و بو صورتله عربلر متصرف ایکن
مستأجر حاله گوردی. مسلمانلرک حق
تصرفی اداره کیفیه یه تابع اولدیغندن جزایر
اداره سی هر نه وقت اراضی یه لزوم

گورر سه اصحابی زورله مملکتلرندن، مأوا
لرندن چیقارمغی املاک و اراضی سی بر گونه
قاعده یه رعایت ایتیه رک و بدل تخمینده
مبالات گورستر میه رک استدیگی گی اللرندن
آلوب فرانسزلره و فرانسز قولونلرینه
تفویض ایتدیگی مجاز گورمشدور.

جزایر ده استیلادن اول بر چوق
جوامع و مدارس و عمارات موجود و فنون
و علوم تدريس اولنه گلیمکده ایکن فرانسه
اداره سی بونلرک جمله سنه وضع یدایلدی.
اوقاف وارداتی ضبط، مؤسسات خیرییه یی
سد ایتدیردی. بر آراق کتب دینییه یی
حکومت حاضر نهک تأسیسه، مدنیت

غریبه نک انتشارینه مانع عدیه مدارس
و مکاتب اسلامییه یینه اسلامه مخصوص
اوله رق فرانسز مکاتبی تأسیس و احداث
ایتمش ایسه ده جزایر اعلای اسلامیه سنک
هر درلو ترقی و تمدن قابلیتندن محروم اولوب
کندیلرینی تنویر ایتمکدن ایسه حائر
اولدقلری انوار علمییه دن دخی بتون بتون
محروم براقق، و کندی ملکنده و طو پراغنده
اوتور تمقندن ایسه دائرة اقامتندن یواش یواش
سوروب یرلرینه آروپا عنصرینی ریاشد.
یرمک و قوه جبرییه الیه دائرة اطاعتده
بولندیر مق صورتلرینی ترجیح ایتدیگندن
بو مکاتبی دخی دفع و درت ملیون اهالی نهک

تعلیم صبیانی ایچون سنه ده یوزیک فرائق
گی حسیس بر مقداری تخصیص ایتیمکله
اکتفا ایلدی. هله قوجه جزایر ده مقررات
و اعلانات رسمیه یه مخصوص حکومت
غزته سندن باشقه بر عربی غزته نک بولما.
مسی شایان دقت و حیرتدر. اداره مملکت
بتون فرانسه مأمورین عسکریه و ملکیه سی
النده بولمقله برابر بلدییه ایشلرینه ده مسلمان
اهالی قاریشدیر لمیور. مستقل دوائر بلدییه
فرانسزلرک متسکن اولدقلری شهر و قصباته
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تشکیل ایتدیگی حالده حق انتخابلری محدود
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بش یاشندن یوقاری ، ایکی سنہ دن زیادہ
او شہر دہ اقامت گاہ صاحبی اولمق ودوات
مأموری یافرانسز نشانی حازر بولمق لازم
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بلدیہ ریسی انتخابندہ اشترک حقندن
محرومدر . مختلط بلدیہل ایسہ فرانسیہ
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در . ہر بر مجلس عمومی جزیر والیدی

طرفندن تعیین اولمش آتیشر مسلمان اعضا
ملازمی بولنیورسہ دہ مجلس کبیر ولایتدہ
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جزایر ک قدم کلیدی حالا ادارہ عسکریہ
تختند بولند یلور لقلہ برابر اہالی قدیمہ اسلامیہ
دنیا نیک ہیچ بر طرفندہ افعال ممنوعہ دن
ممدود اولیان بر طاقم احوال دن طولانی تحت
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چیتارلمدینی خالدہ ہیئت مجتمعیہ مجرم
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اطفایہ جان حقیلہ چالشدقلری خالدہ دہ
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نظر بانی تبدیل اقوام سارہ حقندن کی معاملاتی

تعدیل اولنق لازم گسه مادام که دور
استیلا سنک انفلاق صبحنده بولوب قوتی
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ایسه دولت عثمانیه نك، دولت ایرانیه نك
وافغانك بقای استقلال و آتیده باشقه بر
هیئت اسلامیه نك تشکل و کسب استقلال
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فیثاته صاتوب بشقه کیمسه نك ادخال
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نك هیچ بریسنک تاریخ آمال و افعالنده
گورلر . کندی ماموریننک قوت
ونفوذنی قیود احتیاطیه ایله تعدیل و هر
حال و محالده استبدادی تقبید و هر جنس
وقومدن مقتدر اولانلره هر ما موریتیه
گیرمک حقنی نامین ایدر ؛ کندی نظارت
فیضبخشایی تحتنده اوله رق هر اداره قومیه
طریق ارتقای کشاده بولور ؛ هر یرده
مکتبهر تکثر مطبوعات سر بستنی تام ایله

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KUTUPHANESİ

۱۶۶

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انگلتريه نك شوتشبات مديتبخشا
سمنك موفقياتي تمنى ايلمك انسانيتك ومد.

نيتك ارتقاسنى جدا تمنى ايلمكدر . بويله
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Appendix III. *Transvaal Meselesi*. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Osmaniye, 1900.
(transcription)

Transvaal Meselesi

Boerlerle Medeniyet - İngilizlerle İslamiyet

İngiltere Devleti'nin açmış olduğu Transvaal Muharebesi umum ehli-i şarkı ve ale'l-husus alem-i İslamiyet'i fevkalade bir surette işgal etmiştir.

Mutekadat-ı diniyesi, mezahib-i siyasiyesi, menafi-i ticariyesi, müstemlekat-ı vasia ve müsta'merat-ı müteaddidesinin vaziyet-i mevkiesi itibariyle İngiliz milleti Şark medeniyetinin [Sayfa 2] iade-i ulviyetine, akvam-ı İslamiye'nin ittihad ve ittisa kudretine hadim olmak için min-tarafillah yaratılmış bir kuvve-i muharrike, bir nefha-i faiza sayılabilir.

İngiliz milleti papanın ribka-i tahakkümünü koparıp attığı ve engizisyon kanun-ı cansuzunun mahsulü olan zincir-i esareti kırıp milyonlarca nüfus-ı beşeriyeyi İspanya'nın kayd-ı esaretinden kurtardığı günden beri alem-i İslamiyet'e takarrüb etmek, şarkta halen ve idareten, hükmen ve kuvveten muvazene-i alemin medar-ı istikrarı olabilecek bir heyet-i kaviyenin teşekkülüne devlet-i müstakillenin teessüsüne çalışmak mesleğini [Sayfa 3] ihtiyar etmiş ve üç yüz senedir bu meslek dairesinde hareketten ayrılmamıştır.

Selatin-i Osmaniye'nin İstanbul'u payitaht-ı saltanat ve merkez-i hilafet ittihaz ve çarh-ı idare-i Osmaniye'yi Avrupa, Asya ve Afrika'nın kıtaat-ı mühimme ve mümtazesinden teşekkül eden sehpa üzerine ikad etmekle beraber muvazene-i umumiye-i alem öyle bir inkılaba düşürülmüştü ki bütün Avrupa hükümdarını taht ve taçlarını tehlikede görmekle muhafaza-ı kavmiyet arzusu ve galeyan-ı taassub saikasıyla umum düvel-i garbiye naşir-i İslamiyet nazarıyla baktıkları devlet-i Osmaniye aleyhine bir ikinci ehl-i salib [Sayfa 4] kıyamını hazırlamıştı.

Devr-i istilanın intihası ve devr-i inhitatın ibtidası olan İnebahtı mağlubiyeti gününden Navarin hezimet-i bahriyesi gününe kadar olan iki asırlık bir müddet içinde İslamiyet'i imha ve devlet-i Osmaniye'yi ilga edecek bir ittifak-ı umuminin husulüne iki defa teşebbüs olunmuştur.

Birinci defasında selatin-i Osmaniye'nin müzaheret ve sahabeti iktisab sayesinde Fransa'nın hayat-ı siyasiyesini temin etmiş ve senelerce emri altında bulundurulmuş Türk kuvve-i bahriyesinin bahşettiği nüfuz [Sayfa 5] ve iktidarın tesiriyle husemasına galip gelmiş olan IV. Henry umum akvam-ı mesihiyeden mürekkep bir cumhuriyet-i uzma teşkili ve devlet-i Osmaniye'nin vücudunu izale ve anasır-ı İslamiye'yi sürüp Asya çöllerine def'e muktedir olacak bir kuvve-i cünüdiye-i muhtelitenin tertip ve sevkini teklif etmiştir.

IV. Henry'nin Fransa menafı-i hususiyesiyle telifi kabil olmayan ve adeta küfran-ı nimet ıtlakına şayan olan bu tasavvurunun kuvvede kalmasına sebep mahud Ravaillac'ın darbe-i desti değil kraliçe Elizabeth'in iştiraktan imtinayı olmuştur.

[Sayfa 6] İkinci defasında ise Rusya imparatoru I. Aleksandr ittifak-ı mukaddes akdetmekle aynı maksadı takip etmişken İngiltere naib kralı George'un vaz'-ı imzadan içtinabı bu ittifakın semere-dar olmasına mani olmuştur.

Şu ahval-i tarihiye ve İngiltere'nin gerek idaresinde ve gerek himaye-i siyasiyesinde bulundurduğu yetmiş milyonu mütecaviz nüfus-ı İslamiye'ye karşı ittihaz ettiği meslek-i dil-nüvazane ve ibraz eylediği hissiyat-ı hürriyet-perverane dünyanın her cihetinde bulunan ehl-i İslam'ı İngiltere'ye daima müteveccih olmaya [Sayfa 7] ve İngiltere'nin her hal ve mahalde muvaffakiyetini temenni etmeye mecbur eylemiştir.

Hele Osmanlılar İngiltere'nin izdiyad-ı kudretine hadim olacak mesailde hiçbir vakit bigane kalamazlar, dünyanın hangi cihetinde İngiliz kanı dökülse Osmanlılar derhal teheyyüce gelir.

Vatanımızın aziz toprağını muhafaza, devletimizin mukaddes hukukunu müdafaa uğrunda dökülmüş ve Osmanlı şühedasının kaniyla karışmış olan İngiliz kanlarının hatıratı gözümüz önüne gelir. O hatıratın tazammun ettiği tahayyülat-ı ümit-bahşa tahattur olunur da şanlı mazimize nazar-ı mefharet, ikballi istikbalimize nigah-ı [Sayfa 8] emniyet ile bakmak isteriz.

İngiltere'nin Afrikaca olan tasavvurat-ı medeniyet-cuyane ve teşebbüsat-ı teali-perveranesine hail olmak isteyen Boer şeraziminin bidayet-i harbde ibraz ettiği şecaat ve metanet herkesin hiss-i takdirini tahrik ve İngiltere'nin ihraz etmiş olduğu mevki-i iktidarı çekemeyenler, hususiyle tekemmülat-ı milliyelerini onun zevalinden

bekleyenler İngiltere'nin zeval ve inhitatına mukaddime olarak *Boerlerin* muvaffakiyatını temenni etmiştir.

Biz ise bütün insaniyetin şeh-rah-ı irtikasını açmak ve birkaç yüz milyon ebna-yı beşeri **[Sayfa 9]** yed-i idare ve terbiyesine almak gibi şanlı bir mevki-i iktidara misli görülmemiş bir kuvvet ve şevkete malik olmuş böyle bir millet-i muazzamanın akıbet ve encamının keşfini kitab-ı ilm-i la-yezalin sahaif-i mesturesini küşad eylemek kudret ve meziyetini haiz olan zamana talikle meselenin medeniyet ve İslamiyet menafiine taalluk eden cihetlerinden bahisle iktifa eyleriz.

Endülüs Devlet-i İslamiyesi'nin inkırazı Hristiyanlık alemini istila-yı İslamiyet endişesinden masun bırakmış ve akvam-ı garbiyeyi fevkalade bir meserret ve şetaret içinde bulundurmuş olduğu bir sırada Fatih Sultan **[Sayfa 10]** Mehmed merhumun medeniyet-i İseviye'nin menba-ı ziya-paşı ve Hristiyanlık idare-i ruhaniyesinin ikinci merkezi olan Konstantiniye'yi fethetmesi bütün Avrupa'yı azim bir dehşete düşürmüştü.

Başlarında papa olduğu halde umum hükümdarın ve rüesa-yı akvam istila-yı İslamiyet'e set çekebilmek çaresi araştırmaya kalkıştıkları zaman birçok keşfiyat-ı berriye ve bahriye ile iştihar ve müstemlekatını tevsi ile kesb-i iktidar eylemiş olan Portekiz kralı II. John dahi İslam'ın def-i mazarratı esbabının istikmalî arzusuna düşmüş ve bir taraftan **[Sayfa 11]** sevahil-i Berberiye'de bulunan anasır-ı İslamiye'nin imhasına ve diğer taraftan Afrika'nın iç taraflarında ve aktar-ı şarkiyede Müslümanlığa dest-zen-i husumet olabilecek bir yar-ı müzaheret-kar taharrisine kalkışmıştı.

Zaten Hindistan'da sıfat-ı ruhaniye ve kuvve-yi cismaniyeyi haiz bir büyük hükümdarın vücudu mervi iken Afrika'nın sevahil-i garbiyesini keşfeden Portekiz ümera-yı bahriyesinin ve hususiyle Benin hakimi tarafından meb'usan gelen süferanın verdiği malumat ve ihbarat bu rivayeti bir kat daha teyit eylemişti.

Bu malumat ve ihbarata nazaran Benin' **[Sayfa 12]** den yirmi aylık mesafede vaki olan bir memleket hükümdarının haiz olduğu kuvve-i ruhaniye ve cismaniye haysiyetiyle umum Afrika hükümdarının mercii ve sandalî-i hükümete yeni kuud eden Afrika hakimlerinin hakk-ı saltanatını tasdik eylediğine alamet olmak üzere taç ve asadan maada bir de salib göndermesi delaletiyle kendisinin din-i İsevi'ye mensup

olduğu anlaşıldığından bu hükümdarın Kral John'un birçok vakitten beri istediği ve kemal-i tehalükle münasebet kesb etmek istediği Prester John yani Papaz Yani'nin olacağında şüphe **[Sayfa 13]** kalmamış ve derhal bir heyet-i keşfiye tertip olunarak onun memleketi ve makarr-ı hükümeti keşfolunmak için Bartolomeu Dias namındaki amir-i meşhurun idaresi tahtında olarak miladın 1486 senesi Ağustosunda sevk olunmuştu.

İşte Müslümanlığı ref' u izale etmek çaresini araştırmak maksadıyla sevk olunan bu heyet-i keşfiye doğru Benin'e varıp ondan sonra Afrika sevahilini takip ederek ve esna-yı seferde envai müşkilat ve muhatarata uğrayarak akıbet Afrika müsellesinin re's-i zaviyesini teşkil eden **[Sayfa 14]** [b]uruna vasıl olmuştu.

Heyet-i keşfiye-i deryanın şiddet-i telatumundan yılmış ve karanın manzara-ı dilhıraşından ve sükkanın vahşet-i tab'inden ürkmüş olduğundan ileriye gitmeye cesaret etmeyip ve keşfettiği bu nokta-ı mühimmeye Bela Burnu ismini verip avdet etmişti.

Kral John maksadına tamamıyla ermediğinden müteessir olmuş ise de Bela Burnunu Ümit Burnu'na tahvil ile bir ikinci heyet-i keşfiye tertip etmişti ki hulul-i eceli münasebetiyle halefi tarafından meşhur Vasco De Gama'nın riyaseti tahtında olduğu halde sevk **[Sayfa 15]** olunmuştu.

Vasco De Gama pek çok müşkilattan sonra Ümit Burnu'na vasıl olmuş ve seyr ü sefere devamla birinci defa olarak Natal tesmiye eylediği sevahili de keşfederek evvelce Arapların istila ve temdin ettikleri Afrika sevahil-i şarkiyesine uğrayarak ve oradan daima Hind'e gidip gelmeye alışmış olan mellahin-i Arab'dan birkaç kılavuz alarak nihayet Hind'e vasıl ve bu suretle garp ve şark muvaredat-ı bahriyesiçün bir şeh-rah-ı azim küşad eylemek gibi bir muvaffakiyet-i uzmaya nail olmuştu.

[Sayfa 16] Ümit Burnu'nun ehemmiyet-i mevkiyesi fevkalade olduğu halde tarih-i keşfinden bir buçuk asırdan ziyade bir müddet içinde hiç kimse rağbet etmemiştir. Ara sıra gelen geçen mellahin vaz'-ı yede kalkışmış ve 1620 senesinde İngilizler Kral I. James namına Ümit Burnu'nu işgal etmişler ise de tekrar çekilip ta Hollandalılar işgal edinceye kadar orası metruk kalmıştı.

Hollanda'nın Hind-i şarki şirketi muamelat-ı ticariyesini ve muvaredat-ı bahriyesini temin ve teshil edecek bir merkez-i mübadele ve bir müstamere-i kaviye bulundurmak üzere [Sayfa 17] 1652 tarihinde doktor Van Riebeeck namında intihab ettiği bir reis ailesi halkı ve yüz kadar asker efrad-ı müstebdelesi ile Ümit Burnu'na izam etmişti.

Bu şerzime Ümit Burnu'na ayak basmasıyla beraber hemen tahassun edebilmek için kuru duvardan bir kalecik ve etrafında şimdiki Cape Town şehrinin bulunduğu mahalde birkaç adi baraka inşa ve etrafta bulunan kabail-i zenciyei vurup emlak ve emvalini gasp ederek ve ele geçirebildikleri efrad-ı kabaili esarete alarak yerleşmeye ve ziraat ve felahata mübaşeret eylemişti. Arkalarından Amsterdam [Sayfa 18] yetim kızlarından birkaç yüz kız dahi gönderilmiş ve bu müstamere-i nevzadın devam-ı tenasülü temin olunduğu gibi birtakım Avrupa serserisi ve Fransa'nın Protestanlar hakkında gösterdiği tazyik üzerine terk-i diyara mecbur olan Fransa Protestanlarından birkaç yüz aile Ümit Burnu'na gidip Hollandalılara iltihak etmiş ve bu sayede müstamerenin nüfusu az müddet zarfında gereği gibi tekessür eylemiş ise de bunlar ekser evkatını Afrika'nın insanını ve hayvanını avlamakla geçirdiklerinden ihtiyacat-ı ziraiyelerini def etmek için şirket [tara]findan birkaç gemi yükü üsera-yı zenciye sevk [Sayfa 19] ve Hollanda hükümeti canibinden de Sund cezayir-i cesimesi ahali-i müslimesinin mütehayyizanından birkaç bin aile nefy ve ta'rib suretiyle Ümit Burnu'na izam olunmuş ve bu şirzimeye hizmetkarlık ve kulluk etmek vazifesiyle mükellef tutulmuş idi.

Kabail-i zenciye için cellad-ı kaza ve o ahvali için seyl-i bela ıtlakına müstehak olacak derecede sefk-i dimaya ve tahrib-i memalike münhemik olan bu *Boer* güruhu zaten kurun-ı vustanın mahsulü olan taassubat-ı diniye ve münakaşat ve müsademat-ı hun-rizanenin hatıratından başka bir ulviyet-i fikre [Sayfa 20] ve bir meziyet ya hüsn-i sirete malik değil iken vatan-ı aslilerinden mahrumiyet-i ebediyenin tesirâtı ve vatan olarak ihtiyar ettikleri memleketin garabet-i ahvali ve sükkânının vahşet-i evzâı huşunet-i tab'larını bir kat daha tezyid etmiş ve tenvir-i vicdan için okuyabildikleri kütüb-i mukaddesenin kendilerine mahsus ayet ve hususiyle kısas-ı Benî Yuşa'ı bedreka-i hareket addetmiş olduklarından yerli, yabancı, Malay, zenci, dinsiz, ya kendi din ve mezheplerinden gayrı din ve mezhebe tabi ne kadar insan varsa cümlesinin kanı heder ve malını helal bilerek münferiden, ya müçtemian her [Sayfa 21] nerede bir zi-ruha tesadüf etseler tiğ-i hunharlarından geçirmeyi ve mezbuh-ı

hançer-i bi-emanı olan bi-karca mader ve pederin aguş-ı hun-aludundan düşüp kalan sibyanı pençe-i esarete alıp hayvan gibi kullanmayı rıza-yı Bari'ye muvafık bir amel addederek tefahür ederlerdi.

Şu huşunet ve vahşetin hüküm-ferma olduğu bir buçuk asırlık müddet içinde Ümit Burnu müstemlekesini teşkil eden kıta-ı cesimenin havi olduğu on kadar kavim ve kabile ve onların cami' olduğu bir milyon kadar nüfus-ı beşeriye külliye mahv ve nabe did olmuştu.

[Sayfa 22] Hele biçare Malay Müslüman mütehayyızanı vaktiyle her biri birkaç hizmetkar kullanmaya ve envai naz u niamla ömür geçirmeye alışmış iken böyle birtakım hun-rızanın esiri olmak bahtsızlığına uğramasıyla birtakımı şiddet-i teessürle ölüp gitmiş ve kalanları lisanlarını, adat-ı kavmiyelerini ve hatta faraiz-i diniyelerini kaybederek yalnız Müslüman ismini taşımakla asıllarını ve dinlerinin hatıratını muhafaza edebilmişler.

İşte Afrika-yı cenubinin *Boer* denilen mahlukun cevalangahı olan cihatı umumi bir makbere ve yeryüzünde berzahtan numune olacak bir harabe haline girmiş iken [Sayfa 23] İngiltere idaresine geçmiş ve o tarihten itibaren Afrika kıtasının ahval-i medeniyesi ve hatta dünyanın muamelat-ı siyasiyesi bir devre-i teceddüd ve tekemmüle girmiştir.

İngiltere Hint müstemlekat-ı cesimesinin muvaredat-ı bahriyesini Bahr-i Muhit'le Bahr-i Hindi'de bulundurduğu kuva-yı bahriyesinin muvasalet ve irtibatını temin edebilmek için Ümit Burnu'nu işgal etmek ihtiyacını çoktan hissetmiş ve hatta 1780 tarihinde bir donanma dahi sevk eylemiş ise de Fransa donanmasının harben vaki olan mümanaatı ve Fransa askerinin Ümit Burnu'ndaki Hollandalılara [Sayfa 24] iltihak ve muaveneti cihetiyle yerleşmeye muvaffak olamamıştı. Fakat Fransa'nın daima ateş muhabbeti seriü'l-iştial olduğu gibi seriü'l-intifada olduğundan aradan az bir müddet geçer geçmez düne kadar müstemlekatını muhafaza için İngiltere'ye karşı harbe kalkışan Fransa Hollanda'yı kamilen yed-i zabtına geçirmiş olduğundan İngiltere bu halden ve Ümit Burnu'nun iç taraflarında bulunan *Boer*lerin isyanından bi'l-istifade 1790 senesinde bir donanma gönderip Ümit Burnu'nu işgal eylemiştir. Amiens Muahedesi İngiltere'ye Ümit Burnu'nu Batavya hükümetine [Sayfa 25] radde-i mecbur kılmış ise de onun hükmü pek az sürdüğünden Viyana Muahede-i umumiyesi

İngiltere'nin hakk-ı temellükünü tasdik eylediğinden Ümit Burnu o tarihten beri İngiltere müstemlekesi olmuştur.

İngiltere idaresi yerleşir yerleşmez *Boer*lerin muamelat-ı gaddaresine ve tahribat-ı mütevaliyesine nihayet verilmek tabii idi. İbtida hayvan gibi hıdemat-ı şakkada istihdam olunan ve her türlü hukuk-ı insaniyeden mahrum tutulan Malay Müslümanlarına ve yerli zenci userasına hürriyet-i şahsiyeyi mümkün mertebe temin edecek bazı müsaadat gösterilmeye [Sayfa 26] başlamıştı. *Boer*ler kesret-i nüfuslarına güvenerek İngiltere idaresinin ıslahat ve teklifatını nazar-ı istihfafla telakki etmek is[te]miş ise de bir taraftan İngiltere muhacirîninin külliyyetle gelip yerleşmesi diğer taraftan cibal-i mürtefiaya kaçıp canlarını *Boer*lerin tiğ-ı hunharından kurtarabilen efrad-ı zenciyenin İngiltere idaresinin adaletine emniyet ederek akın akın gelip iltica eylemesi ve Malay Müslümanlarının da mazhar oldukları adalet ve siyanetten bi'l-istifade ulviyet-i fitriyelerini takınıp adeta İngilizlerin kuvvetü'z-zahrı hükmüne girmesi *Boer*lerin hareket-i serkeşane [Sayfa 27] lerini tadile ve daire-i inkıyada girmeye mecbur kılmıştı.

*Boer*ler zaten İngiliz idare-i adilesinin yerleşmesinden ve adamlık yoluna girmek mecburiyetine düşmesinden münfail olup dururken İngiltere parlamentosunun yirmi milyon İngiliz liralık bir fıdye-i azimenin tahsisıyla yedi yüz elli bin nüfusa baliğ olan userayı umumen ve defaten itak etmek gibi tarih-i ümemde misli görülmemiş bir eser-i civanmerdi teşkil eden ve dünya durdukça insaniyetin nazar-ı takdir ve takdisine mazhar olacak olan bir kararı kabul ve ilan etmesi mal-i menkul bildikleri [Sayfa 28] insanları esir olarak kullanmaktan mahrum olduklarını anladıklarından ve düne kadar köleleri olarak kullandıkları adamlarla hal-i müsavatta yaşamayı havsalarına sığdıramadıklarından artık başlarını alıp Afrika'nın içerilerinde hallerine münasip başka bir cevelangah aramak sevdasına düşmüş ve içlerinden kavanin-i medeniyet tahtında yaşamaya katlanmış olanlar müstesna olarak kısm-ı küllisi çoluk çocuklarını ve hayvanlarını alıp Ümit Burnu'nun cihet-i şimaliyesindeki memalike doğru revan olmuşlardı.

İki asra yakın müddet içinde ikamet [Sayfa 29] edip vatani ittihaz ettikleri bu diyarı mücerret daire-i medeniyete girmemek ve kavanin-i adalet ve insaniyeti kabul etmemek için terk eden *Boer*ler birkaç sene evvel kuraklık münasebetiyle hayvanları yayırmak için mevakiini bildikleri Orange Nehri'nin öte cihetlerine geçmiş ve Peter

Retief'i reis tanıyarak göçebe halinde yerleşmeye ve Kaffir kabailinin taarruzundan masun olmak için onların bulundukları taraflara yanaşmamaya karar vermişti. İngiliz memurları arkalarını takiple her nerede bulunacak olsalar daire-i tabiyetten çıkamayacaklarını bildirdiklerinden **[Sayfa 30]** bir kısmı inkıyad etmiş diğer kısmı orasını da bırakıp şimale doğru gitmişti. Drakensberg silsile-i cibalinin tepelerine doğru gidenler Zulu kabilesi hakimi Dingan ile uyuşarak dağın öte yüzüne geçip yerleşmiş ise de Dingan bunların külliyyet üzere yerleşmelerinden tevehhüm ederek arazi tahdid ve tahsis etmek bahanesiyle bir mahale davet ederek üzerlerine hücum etmiş ve ekserisini itlaf eylemiş olduğu halde bakiye-i süyufu tahassun ederek yerleşmiş ve yavaş yavaş kesb-i kuvvetle Dingan'ı mevki-i iktidardan düşürüp kardeşini **[Sayfa 31]** hakimiyete geçirdikten sonra Natal idare-i müstakillesini teşkil etmişlerdi. İngiltere ise *Boerlerin* sahil-i bahrda müstakil idare tesisine cevaz göstermediğinden daire-i itaate davet eylemiş ve vuku bulan mukavemet üzerine kuvve-i cebriye istimaliyle bir kısmı idare-i mutavaata aldırılmıştı.

İngilizlerin siyah adamları beyazlarla müsavi tutmak ve zencileri insaniyet, medeniyet, diyanet şerefiyle tezyin etmek kabahatini affedemeyen ve İngiliz yüzü görmemek için başlarını alıp Afrika'nın dağlarına kaçan *Boerlerin* en haşın, en anud **[Sayfa 32]** takımı Hendrik Potgieter'i reis ve kumandan tanıyarak Vaal Nehri'nin cihet-i şimaliyesinde vaki Kachan 'ya' Magalisberg^[*] denilen dağ eteklerine kadar yayılmışlardı. Bu havalı ise evvelce Matabele hakimi Mzilikazi'nin yed-i zabtına geçip *Boerlerin* duhul ve ikametini iki taraf ahalisi beyninde envai münazaat ve ihtilafat tevliid etmişti ki akıbet Mzilikazi hun-rizane olan bir muharebede mağlup ve münhezim olub Limpopo Nehri'nin şimal cihetine firar **[Sayfa 33]** eylemişti. Artık bu muharebe ve muzafferiyetten sonra *Boerler* o havalinin sahibi ve Matabelelilerin cevri ve ezasından yılmış olan kabail-i kadime ahalisinin hüsn-i kabulüne mazhar olmuş ise de kendilerine dış gösterebilecek bir kavim ve kabilenin kalmadığını görünce huşunet-i fitriyelerinin muktezası olan mezalim ve taadiyatı ikaa kıyam ve kabail-i kadime halkının mal ve emlakını zabt ve gasb ve çoluk çocuklarını zorla ellerinden alıp köle gibi istihdam etmekle Matabelelilere rahmet okutturmuştu.

[*] Transvaal Cumhuriyeti'nin makarr-ı hükümeti olan Pretoria şehrinin vaki olduğu ovaya hakim cebeldir.

Boerler Afrika kıtasını min-tarafı'r- **[Sayfa 34]** *Rahman* kendilerine bahş ve ihsan edilmiş bir malikane ve Afrika halkını kulluk ile kendilerine hizmet etmek için halk edilmiş bir mahluk nazarıyla baktıklarından bunların temeddün ve tedeyyününü iltizam eden İngiliz ve sair memalik-i mütemeddine tüccar ve misyonerlerine daima adavet ederler kendi idareleri tahtında veya nüfuz ve iktidarlarının cari olduğu mahallerde ticaret ve medeniyet ve diyanetin tevsî ve intişarına mani olmayı adeta bir vazife-i diniye bilirlerdi. Hatta meşhur Livingstone Bakwena kavminin reisi Sechele'nin karargahı olan Kolobeng kasabasında müddet-i medide kalıp bir mektep küşad etmiş **[Sayfa 35]** ve yetiştirdiği muallimleri civar kabaile göndermekle Afrika zencilerini nur-ı medeniyetle tenvir eylemiş olduğu halde yalnız *Boerlerin* taht-ı idare ve nüfuzunda bulunan kabail-i zenciye bundan mahrum kalmış idi. Livingstone birkaç kere Hendrick Potgieter'in nezdine kadar gitmiş ve kabailin muallim kabulü hakkındaki mevaniin ref'ini niyaz ve talep eylemiş ise de Hendrick Potgieter temenniyat ve metalibini red ve kabail halkının öğreneceği bir şey varsa o da zencilerin beyazlarla müsavi olmamak için yaradılmış olduğunu bilmek lazım geleceği cevabını vermiş ve bu suretle Livingstone'u **[Sayfa 36]** meyusen avdet mecbur kılmıştı.

Vaal ile Limpopo Nehirleri arasında yerleşen *Boerler* kemal-i şiddet ve gılgizetle icra-yı mezalim ettiği sırada İngiltere hükümeti Orange cihetinde bulunan *Boerlere* tabiyet-i kayd ve vazifesini kuvve-i cebriye ile tanıttırmış ve İngiltere tabiyetini kabul etmeyenler Pretorius'un riyaseti tahtında Transvaal'e geçip orada bulunan hemcinslerine iltihak etmiş ve Pretorius'un riyaseti tahtında bir irade-i mahsusa tesis etmişlerdi.

İngiltere, Afrika'da hüküm-ferma olan zulmet-i zulm ve bedeviyetin ref'i ve izalesi için **[Sayfa 37]** yegane çare esaretin ilgasını ve ticaretin tevessüünü bildiğinden *Boerlerin* mevcudiyet-i ictimaiye, itikadat-ı diniye ve şerait-i intiaşiyesi ise bu iki nokta-i mühimmeden ibaret olan maksad-ı insaniyetin husulüne min-küllî'l-vücuha mani olduğundan bu halde *Boer* şeraziminin vücudunu kaldırmak ya ahval-i ictimaiye ve usul-i idarelerini tadil ve ıslah etmek şikkından birinin ihtiyarı İngiltere için zaruri idi. Fakat o aralık Kırım Muharebesi'ni intaç eden ve muvazene-i alemi sarsan gavail-i şarkiye, İngiltere'yi fevkalade işgal ettiğinden Ümit Burnu müstemlekatının tevsî ve mesari **[Sayfa 38]** finin teksiri yüzünden birtakım müşkilat hudusüne ihtimal

kalmamak için şikk-ı saninin tercihi ve Vaal Nehri'nin İngiltere müstemlekatının münteha-yı hudud-ı şimaliyesi itibariyle onun cihet-i şimaliyesinde bulunacak İngiltere tebeasının muhtariyet-i siyasiyeye ve istiklal-i idareye mazhariyeti esasları Londra kabinesince kararlaştırmış ve 1852 senesinde Ümit Burnu Valisi ile Pretorius'un murahhası beyninde bir mukavelename akd ve teati olunarak Transvaal bir cumhuriyet-i müstakille olarak tanılmıştı. Bu sıralarda Kırım Muharebesi kesb-i ehemmiyet ederek İngiltere Orange kıtasınca da bir güne **[Sayfa 39]** gaileye mahal bırakmamasını münasip gördüğünden esaretin memnuiyet-i katiyesini kabul etmek şartıyla istiklalini ve muhtariyet-i siyasiyesini tasdik eylemişti.

Boerler fima-ba'd İngiltere tüccarının serbesti-i ticaret ve seyahatine mani olmamak ve esaret fi'l-i mezmumunu irtikab etmemek şartıyla istiklal ve muhtariyet-i idareyi kazanmış oldukları halde taahhüdat-ı vakıalarını icrasız bırakmışlar mukavelenamenin esasları müzakere olunur iken Pretorius murahhası İngiliz misyonerleri hakkında ne yolda muamele edileceğini Ümit Burnu Valisinden sual **[Sayfa 40]** eylediğinde Sir George Cathcart "Misyonerlere ne isterseniz yapabilirsiniz" cevabını latife olmak üzere vermişti. *Boerler* bu latifeyi ciddiyete haml ve Bakwena kabailinin esliha ve barut ithal ve tedarikinden memnu tutulmaları hakkındaki müsaadeyi bu kabail halkını tamamiyle ezmekteki hak ve salahiyetlerine delil addederek mukavelenamenin tarih-i akdinden daha birkaç ay geçmemiş iken reis Pretorius dört yüz efrad-ı müsellahadan mürekkep bir çete tertip ve Livingstone'un karargahı olan Kolobeng'e sevk ile büyü ve emakini ve hatta Livingstone'nun mektebini tamamiyle tahrip **[Sayfa 41]** ettirmiş ve birkaç saat devam eden kanlı bir muharebeden sonra kaçamayan birkaç yüz zükur ve inas çocuklarla kadınları kayd-ı rikkıyete aldırılmıştı.

Livingstone *Boerlerin* bu faciayı ikamdan sonra Caruna'dan avdetinde vahşilerin bile kıymadıkları kütüb ve resailini parça parça ve mektep ve hanesini ve kasaba ve ebniyesini hak ile yeksan ve kendi mektebinin müdavimi olup *Boerlerin* kabza-i esaretine geçmiş olan iki yüz kadar zükur ve inas sıbyanın kurtulabilen ebeveynini meyus ve nalan bulmuş olduğundan bu ahval-i faciayı ve hele reis-i kabile Sechele' **[Sayfa 42]** nin oğlu olup reis-i cumhur Pretorius'un yed-i esaretinden müşkilatla kurtarılan bir sabinin iki böğürünün ateşte yanmış olduğu halde iade olunduğunu rikkat-engiz bir lisan ile tasvir ve tahkiye etmiştir.

Boerler öteden berü takip ettikleri amal-i istila-cuyaneye nail ve İngiltere'nin müdahalat ve takibatından vareste olunca fart-ı istikbarla bila-perva her tarafa salmağa başlamış ve Afrika'da ribka-i esaretlerinde yaşamayacak ne kadar mahluk var ise cümlesinin vücudunu izaleye güya Halık-ı bi-çun tarafından memur imiş gibi hareket-ı vahşiyane ve takibat-ı hun-feşaneyeye **[Sayfa 43]** inhimakla zencilere insanlık hak ve şerefini ve vesait-i müdafaayı ihraz ettiren misyonerlerin müesseselerini bir bir tahrip ve kendilerini ve aktar-ı şimaliye ile icra-yı ticaret ve kesb-i münasebet etmek isteyen İngilizleri tard ve teb'id etmişti.

İşte tekebbür ve taassubun hüküm-ferma olduğu bir zamanda Kırım Muharebesi zuhur ettiğinden *Boerler* Rusya'nın mücerret Kudüs'ü ve Arz-ı Filistin'de vaki makamat-ı mübareke ve emakin-i mukaddeseyi İslam'ın yed-i istilasından tahlis maksadıyla bu muharebeyi açmış olduğuna zahip olarak Moskov ordularına imdad **[Sayfa 44]** ve adüvv-i din bildikleri Müslümanları ve kendi hasm-ı canları ve adüvv-i dinlerinin yardımcıları bildikleri İngilizleri mahv edecek muarekat ve muharebata iştirak etmek şan u şerefini kazanmak emeliyle birkaç yüz dindar *Boerden* mürekkep bir müfreze tertip ve Arz-ı Filistin'e sevk eylemişti. Bu kafilе şimale doğru revan olup birkaç günlük yoldan sonra bir büyük nehrin menbainı tesadüf etmiş ve Nil'in menbai zannıyla bu nehre Nil ismini vermişti.

Kavm-i Beni İsrail şan ve tavrını takınan *Boerlerin* Davud'u sayılan Pretorius'un irtihali makam-ı riyaseti münhal bırakmış **[Sayfa 45]** ve yerine müteveffanın oğlu II. Pretorius ara-yı umumiye ile intihab olunmuştu. Bunun kuvve-i fikriyesi ve idare-i memleketçe olan iktidarı pek mahdud olup asar-ı memduhiyet gösterememiş ise de şeref-i nisbi sayesinde Transvaalce olan mevkiini tahkim ettiğinden başka bir müddet için Orange Cumhuriyeti'nin riyasetini dahi ihraz eylemişti. 1868 senesinde iki cumhuriyetin ittisalinde vaki olan Griqualand elmas madeninin keşfi iki cumhuriyeti bu memleketin hakk-ı istimlakini davaya sevk eylemişti. Halbuki bu memleket vaktiyle *Boerlerin* izdivaç **[Sayfa 46]** ettikleri kabail-i nisasından hasıl olan evlad ve ahfaddan ibaret ve Griqua namıyla meşhur olan kavmin taht-ı zabt ve idaresinde bulunuyordu. Griquaların o tarihte reisi bulunan *Waterboer* iki tarafın davasını reddeylemiş ise de ibtida Orange cumhuru reisi Brand ve akabinde Pretorius elmas madeninin çıktığı mahalli zabt ve idare etmek üzere ayrı ayrı birer vali tayin ve izam eylemişti. Fakat bu iki cumhurun dava-yı tasarruftan dolayı olan münakaşatı lafzi ve

valilerin hükmü gayr-ı mer'i iken kısımlı azamı İngiliz olmak üzere içtima [Sayfa 47] ve maden imalatına germi-i tam ile mübaşeret eden madenciler oralarını imar etmiş ve Ümit Burnu valisi o kıtanın İngiltere tabiyetinde bulunan Griqualara aidiyeti cihetiyle İngiltere müstemlekesi olduğunu ilan ve bizzat mahaline azimet ederek ahali-i mahalliyenin ve madencilerin hüsn-i kabulüne mazhar olmuştu.

Orange reisi Brand'ın Londra'ya gidip sulhen işi bitirmesi ve meblağ-ı mühim alması Boerlerin Pretorius aleyhinde kıyamına ve Hollanda erbab-ı ilm ve kemalinden François Burghers'in intihabına sebep olmuştu.

François Burghers Boerlerin nimet-i [Sayfa 48] medeniyetten mütenaim olmalarını temin edecek vesait-i islahiye istihlal eylemek yolunda çalışmış ve Transvaal'den Delagoa Bay'e kadar bir demir yolu inşasıçün Portekiz hükümeti ile akd-i mukavele etmek üzere Avrupa'ya seyahat ederek bu makasid husulüne ve sermaye tedarikine muvaffak olup avdet eylemiş ise de bir taraftan şimdiki reis Kruger'in aleyhinde envai mefasid ilka etmesi ve diğer taraftan kabail hükümdar-ı kadimi olan Sekhukhune'nin eski bir davayı tecdid eylemesi bu muvaffakiyet ve muzafferiyetin iktitaf-ı semeratına meydan bırakmamıştı. [Sayfa 49] Sekhukhune ile açılan muharebe Boerlerin inhizamını mucip olup Transvaal'in bekası tehlikeye girmiş olduğundan İngiltere hem Transvaal'i kurtarmak ve hem de kabail-i kadimenin Avrupa medeniyetine mani olabilecek derecede yüz bulmasına mahal kalmamak için müdahaleye karar vermiş ve Sir Theophilus Shepstone'u memuriyet-i mahsusa ile Transvaal'e izam eylemişti. Mösyö Shepstone otuz süvari ile Pratorya'ya muvasaletinde merkezde ve kasabat-ı mütecavirede bulunan Boerlerin ve ale'l-husus Kruger'in gösterdikleri meyil ve muvafakat üzerine İngiltere idaresini tesis [Sayfa 50] ve İngiliz sancağını rekz eylemişti.

İngiltere'nin şu suretle müdahalesi Boerleri büyük bir felaketten kurtarmış ise de istiklal idarelerini ref' u izale ettiğinden yavaş yavaş asar-ı na-hoşnudî nümayan olmağa başlayıp akıbet 1880 tarihinde yani Mösyö Theophilus Shepstone'un Transvaal'i İngiltere idaresi tahtına aldırıldığı tarihten üç sene sonra Boerler açıktan açığa isyan etmişti.

İngiltere bu kıyâmı teskine Natal Valisi Sir George Colley'i memur edip mevcut olan kuvve-i askeriyesiyle Transvaal [Sayfa 51] üzerine yürümüş ise de Natal ile

Transvaal beynindeki hudud-ı tabiiyeyi teşkil eden Drakensberg silsile-i cibalinin en mühim geçidi olan Laing's Nek mevkiinde İngiliz müfrezesi dehşetli surette münhezim olduğu halde Sir George Colley mütenebbih olmayıp imdadına yetişen diğer kuvve-i askeriyesinin iltihakıyla beraber tekrar Transvaal'e geçmeğe kalkışmış ve Majuba tepesinde külli inhizama uğrayarak ihtiyatsızlık hatasını kanıyla ödemişti. Bu hezimet İngiltere'ye tesir ederek ikmal-i namusu için ahz-ı intikam esbab-ı kaviyesini tedarikle İngiliz kumandanları **[Sayfa 52]** hemen hücumla mütehalik olduğu halde itidal fikri meşhur olan Mösyö Gladstone serkarda bulunup İngiltere gibi bir devlet-i muazzama için iltizam-ı itidali kuvve-i cebriye ile hasıl olacak muzafferiyete müreccah tutarak derhal akd-i musalaha ile Transvaal'in iade-i istiklali emrini verdi.

1881 tarihinde akdolunan muahede Transvaal'in istiklal-i idare-i dahiliyesini temin eylemiş ise de İngiltere'nin metbuiyetini ve dahili bazı mesailde hakk-ı müdahalesini tazammun ettiğinden *Boerler* tamamiyle memnun kalmamış ve makam-ı riyasete getirilmiş olan Kruger baş **[Sayfa 53]** kumandan ve maarif müdürü birlikte olduğu halde Londra'ya gitmiş ve 1884 tarihinde tadilen bir ikinci muahede tanzim ve teati olunarak idare-i dahiliyesince Transvaal tamamiyle müstakil tanılmış ve fakat Orange Cumhuriyeti'nden başka düvel-i ecnebiye ve kabail-i mahalliye rüesasıyla akdolunacak muahedat ve mukavelatin ahkâmı mer'i olabilmek için İngiltere kraliçesinin evvelce o muahedatı tasdik eylemesi lazım geleceği kaydı muahedenin dördüncü maddesinde derc edilmişti.

İşte Transvaal'in mevki-i siyasisiyle hukuk-ı umumiyesini ve şekl-i idaresini tayin **[Sayfa 54]** eden şu son muahededir ki tefsir ve tatbik-i ahkamı muharebenin zuhuruna badi olan ihtilafı tevliid eylemiştir.

İhtilaf-ı hazırın esbab-ı zuhurunu tarife girişmezden evvel *Boerlerin* ahval-i hususiye ve son defaki istiklal-i idarelerinden beri tesis ettikleri idare hakkında bazı malumat itasını münasip görürüz.

Boerler huşunet-i tab'larının saikasıyla medeniyetten kaçıp yayıldıkları mahalde sırf çiftçiliğe ve daha doğrusu çobanlığa yakışan tarik-i intiaşı tutmuşlar. Her aile reisi, ailesini ve üsera ve huddamdan mürekkep **[Sayfa 55]** olan dairesini barındırmak ve hayvan sürüsünü yaydırmak için en aşağı üç bin *morgen* yani otuz bin dönümden

ibaret ve *plats* tabir olunan mezraa değil bir koca kıtayı taht-ı tasarrufuna alıp onun vasatında ve hakim bir noktasında bir ikametgah ya daha doğrusu bir tahassungah bina ederek yerleşmeğe mecburdur. Bu suretle ikamet ve muaşeret nimet-i medeniyetin takdirine mani olan uzlet ve infiradın devamına ve terbiye ve maarifin adem-i intişarına kafidir. Bunun için daha yakın vakte kadar *Boer*lerin çoğu hayvanat-ı vahşiye derilerini iktisa ve ekserisi [Sayfa 56] resimli İncil ve Tevrat'ın sahayifine ve üzerinde menkuş olan tesavir-i tarihiyeye göz gezdirmekle icra-i ibadet ederlerdi. Kasaba denilen içtimagahları büyük köy halinde iken içinde bulunan *Boer*lerin hiç birisi esnaflığa ve sınaatkarlığa rağbet etmez Orange taraflarında ve Transvaal'in Orange'a karib cihetlerinde kabail halkının müçtemian ikametine müsaade gösterirlerse de başka taraflarda zenciler muhtelif kabail halkından mürekkep olmadıkça müçtemian ikametlerine müsaade etmezler ve bu halde de birkaç senede bir mesken ve mevalarını tebdile mecbur tutarlar. Zenciler nerede olur ise [Sayfa 57] olsun araziye mutasarrıf olamaz ve silah taşımak hakkını ve sair hukuk-ı medeniyyeyi ihraz hatta *Boer*ler ile bir çatı altında değil bir mahalle içinde bile ikamet ve beytutet edemezler. Madencilik memleketin en nemadar sıfatı iken zenciler kendi hesaplarına maden işletemezler ve amele olarak bir madende işleyecek olurlar ise ücretlerini altın olarak ahz edemezler. Ve üzerlerinde altın taşıyamazlar. Taşırlarsa darb ve hapis ile mücazat olunurlar. Çinliler, Hintliler, Müslümanlar da hakk-ı ihtilattan mahrum ve Transvaal'de ikamet ve icra-yı sanat edebilmek için yirmi [Sayfa 58] beş İngiliz lirası mukabilinde bir ruhsat-ı mahsusa almağa mecburdur.

Gelelim idare-i hükümete: Şekl-i idare cumhuriyettir. Doğrudan doğruya efrad-ı ahali tarafından beş sene müddet için intihab olunur bir reis re's-i idarede bulunur. Her bir yerin yirmi dokuz azadan merkep ve birinci ve ikinci *Volksraad* namıyla müsemma iki meclis-i umumi heyet-i kanuniyesini ve kuvve-i umumiye kumandanı olup reis muavini ünvanını taşıyan ve bir nazır ve üç azadan merkep olan heyet, heyet-i idaresini teşkil ider. Cumhur reisi birinci [Sayfa 59] ve ikinci meclis-i umumi azası ve cumhuriyetin büyük küçük memuru olabilmek için aslen ve neslen *Burgher* yani Ümit Burnu'ndan hicret etmiş ve hiç olmazsa 1876 tarihinden evvel Transvaal'de yerleşmiş ve Protestan mezhebine mensup bulunmuş olmak iktiza eder. Vaktiyle beyaz olup Transvaal'e gelenler için tabiyet hakkını kazanmak kolay iken muahharan madenlerin terakki-i imalatı cihetiyle külliyyetle gelip yerleşen Avrupalıların ve ale'l-husus İngilizlerin bu hakk-ı tabiyetten istifadesini men için ağır şerait vaz' olunmuştur. İki

sene ikametten sonra sıfat-ı tabiyeti [Sayfa 60] kazananlar birinci derecede olan tebea sınıfını teşkil eder ki bunlar yalnız ehemmiyetten ari olan ikinci meclis-i umumi azasını intihab etmek ve dört sene ikametten sonra sıfat-ı tabiyetini kazananlar ikinci meclis-i umumi azalığına intihab olunmak hakkını haizdir. 1890 tarihli kanun hükmünce on iki, 1894 tarihli kanun hükmünce on dört ve Kruger ile Ümit Burnu Valisi Sir Alfred Milner'ın Orange merkez-i idaresindeki mükalemeden sonra Kruger tarafından teklif ve *Volksraad* tarafından kabul olunan iki kanun hükmünce yedi sene ikametten sonra tabiyeti kazananlar [Sayfa 61] üçüncü derecede olan sınıf-ı tebeayı teşkil eder ki bunlar kaffe-i hukuk-ı medeniye ve siyasiyeyi haizdir.

Cumhuriyet denilip on dokuz seneden beri bi'l-istiklal icra-i riyaset eden Kruger'in rey-i müstakilline tabi olan Transvaal Cumhuriyeti hakk-ı insaniyeti beyaz levnde bulunan insanlara, hukuk-ı medeniyeyi *Boer*lerin mezhebinde bulunanlara ve hukuk-ı siyasiyeyi aslen ve neslen *Boer* olanlara hasreylemiştir. Dünyanın her tarafından kaldırılmasına çalışmakta olan şu ihtilaf-ı cinsi ve mezhep kuyud ve hududunun ref' ve tadilini [Sayfa 62] Afrika-yı Cenubice en ziyade alakadar olan İngiltere'nin talep eylemesi muharebeye kadar vardırıştır.

Transvaal ve Orange Cumhuriyetlerinin havza-i mülkiyelerini teşkil eden memalik-i vasia ve münbite ahalisi olup hayvanat-ı ehliye yetiştirmek ve ziraat eylemek ile meluf olan *Boer*ler icra-yı sanat ve felahate münhasır bir halde kalmış olsa idi. Çünkü İngiltere Transvaal'in cihet-i şimal-i şarkiyesinde bulunan ve el-an Portekiz'in yed-i istimlakinde kalmış olan memalikten başka etraf-ı erbaasını taht-ı tasarrufuna geçirmiş ve dairen- [Sayfa 63] madar mamureleri ve demir yolları ile kuşatmış olduğundan *Boer*lerin gerek Afrikaca ve gerek Avrupaca haiz-i ehemmiyet İngiltere müstemlekatınca mücib-i vehamet olacak bir hal ve hareketi mutasavver ve muahede-i mebhusetün-anhanın mutazammın olduğu hakk-ı hakimiyet ve vazife-i mahkumiyet istimal ve ifasından dolayı akıdeyn beyninde bir güne ihtilaf hudusuna mahal kalmazdı. Bi'l-akis *Boer*ler kendi mahsulatını ancak İngiliz müstemlekelerine satabileceklerinden ve muamelat-ı ticariyelerini ancak İngiltere vasıtasıyla icra ettirebileceklerinden ilca-yı menfaat ve mürur-ı zamanla Ümid Burnu [Sayfa 64] müstemlekesinde kalan *Boer*ler gibi vadi-i medeniyete girmeğe ve İngiltere'nin Afrikaca takip ettiği makasıd-ı insaniyet-perveranesine hadim olmağa mecbur olacaktı.

Halbuki Cenab-ı Hak bu memlekete arazinin kuvve-i inbatıyesinden ziyade cihanda misli görülmemiş derecede bir servet-i madeniye ihsan eylemiştir. Transvaal'in mesaha-i sathıyesi takriben sekiz yüz bin kilometre murabba olduğu halde bunun bir sülüsü kenz-i la-yefna-yı servet denilecek kadar bir havza-i madeniyedir. Bundan on altı seneden beri kemal-i keremi ile imal ve ihracına devam olunan altın madenlerinin [Sayfa 65] ihracatı o derece terakki etmiştir ki muharebeden evvelki sene içinde on yedi milyon İngiliz lirasına karib bir miktara balığ olmuştur.

Bu servet-i fevkalade memleketin ehemmiyet-i maliye ve siyasiyesini artırmış ve altın ihracatının haiz olduğu kuvve-i cazibenin kalb-i insana olan tesiriyle dünyanın her tarafından saadet ve servet arkasına düşen adamların tehalükle içtimaina sebebiyet vermiştir.

Altın madenleri işlemezden evvel Transvaal'de *Boer* olarak yalnız yetmiş bin nüfus var iken şimdi üç yüz bin nüfusu mütecaviz beyaz ve mütemeddin ahali mevcuttur.

[Sayfa 66] Madenlerin zuhurundan evvel Transvaal hükümetinin senevi varidat-ı umumiyesi ancak yüz yetmiş bin liraya çıkabilmiş ve hazine-i merkeziyede bir tek sikke-i zehebiye bulundurmak mümkün değil iken bugün varidat dört buçuk milyon İngiliz lirasına varmış ve dünyayı servetiyle yıldırılmış olan koca İngiltere'ye mukabele edebilecek edevat-ı nariye ve esliha-i mükemmele-i harbiye tedarik ettiren nukud-ı kesire iddihar ettirilmiştir. Bundan on altı sene evvel yekun-ı ithalat ve ihracat bir milyon İngiliz lirasına balığ iken bugün senevi ticaret-i umumiyenin yekunu otuz [Sayfa 67] milyon İngiliz lirası yani tek mil memalik-i Osmaniye'nin ihracat ve ithalatına müsavi bir miktarı tecavüz etmiştir. Burasını hatırdan çıkarmamalıdır ki böyle bir servet-i fevkalade menabiini cami olan kıta vaktiyle İngiliz tebeasından olup da İngiltere'nin idaresinden kaçmış, İngiltere'nin Afrika'ya yaymak istediği medeniyete mani olmak istemiş İngiltere'nin meşrebine, mezhebine, takip ettiği meslek-i insaniyet-perveranesine malen, bedenlen, kalben husumet eylemeği ayn-ı ibadet bilmiş *Boer*lerdir. Burasını nazar-ı muhakemeden dūr etmemelidir ki bu altın defayininin kıymet-i [Sayfa 68] itibariyesinin bedeli Londra sermayedarının cüzdanında mahfuz bulunan eshamın teşkil ettiği bir servet-i hakikiyedir. Bu servet ve ticareti idare eden İngiliz'dir. Zenciden maada ahali-i mutemeddinenin nısfını teşkil eden *uitlander*'lerin yani ecnebilerin dört humsu İngiliz'dir. Hal böyle iken İngiltere devleti *Boer*lerin şu hudaı tekemmülüne, sırf müsaade-i tali'le olan şu servet-i

maliyesine ve o sayede istihzar ettikleri kuvve-i harbiyesine karşı bi-kaydane mi davranabilir? Beş on milyarlık servet-i milliyesini terkip eden bir sermaye-i ticaretini feda mı edebilir? Kuvve-i fikriye ve maliye [Sayfa 69] lerinin ve mesai-i mütevaliye-i bedeniyelerinin mahsulü olan bu maadin-i cesimeye malik olmuş yüz bin tebeasını *Boerlerin* idare-i keyfiyesine, hırs ve tamama kurban mı edebilir? İşte mesele-i hazırayı tevlid eden ahval-i hakika bunlardır.

Boerlerin huşunet-i tab'ına, taassubat-ı diniyesine, bir de kuvve-i maliye ve kudret-i siyasiyesine inzimamına müsaade edilecek olsa İngiltere'nin Afrikaca olan tasavvurat-ı cesime-i medeniyet-perveranesi tamamıyla sekte dar olur. Fenalık o derecede de kalmaz *Boerlerin* böyle bir kuvve-i maliyesi, böyle bir kudret-i [Sayfa 70] siyasiyesi Afrika-yı Cenubi'nin en mühim unsurunu teşkil eden ve hemcinsleri olup inad ve taassuplarına iştirak etmemekle İngiltere idaresinde kalmış olan tek mil *Afrikaner*'dir. *Boerleri* tehyiç ve İngiliz hakimiyeti aleyhine tahrik eder ki neticesi iki unsurdan birisinin Afrika-yı Cenubi'den çıkmasını müncer olur. İngiltere elbette Afrikaca olan amal ve makasıd-ı insaniyetkarane ve teali-perveranesini böyle mutaassıp bir güruhun gılgıt ve mümanaatı üzerine terk ve feda edemez idi.

İngiltere bütün dünyayı sarsmış, cihangirlik taslayan devletleri bile yıldırılmış [Sayfa 71] olan metanet ve mikneti *Boerlere* karşı göstermemekle mevcudiyet-i siyasiyesini mevki-i iktidarını tehlikeye düşüremez idi.

İngiltere'nin bu *Boerlere* karşı dermeyeran ettiği metalib-i siyasiyenin müstenid olduğu hukuk-i ahdiyeyi, İngiltere'nin daima insaniyet, medeniyet, hürriyet, menafi ile tevhid ettiği menafi-i mahsusasını temin ve istihsal için tevessül ettiği vesait-i harbiyenin husul-i muvaffakiyetine kafi olup olmadığını düşünmeğe mahal görmeyiz!.. İngiltere cemi zamanda adalet, hürriyet taraftarı bulunur. Her kavim ve milletin nur-ı medeniyet ile münevver her kıta [Sayfa 72] ve ülkenin kuvve-i adalet ile muhkem olmasını arzu eder. Dünyanın hangi tarafında bir idare-i zalime baş gösterse ona karşı husumet, hangi memleketin halkı zencir-bend-i esaret olacak olsa ona müzaheret gösterir. Bu maneviyat-ı insaniyet-perveranesi, bu temenniyat-ı adalet-küsteranesi sırf hissiyat-ı vicdaniyenin ulviyetinden münbaistir denilemez. Devlet-i müctemia denilen o iki cezire ki rub'-ı meskunun sabih bir karhane-i umumisi ıtlakına şayestedir. Bu karhane destgahlarından gece gündüz çıkan milyonlarca mamulat ve mensucatı sürdürmek için müşterinin [Sayfa 73] adedini teksire mecburdur. İştira ise rağbete,

rağbet ise ihtiyaca bu da medeniyetin, servetin tezayüdüne mütevakkıftır. İngiltere sair cihangirler gibi dünyayı istila ettiği mahallerin mal ve servetini gasp ve iğtinam ile kesb-i kuvvet ve servet etmek mesleğini tutmamıştır. Bilakis servet ve mamuriyetlerini tezyid için malen, nakden fedakarlıkta bulunmuştur. Hasılı daimen kendi kudret ve servetini başkalarının medeniyet ve saadetinde aramıştır. İnsaniyet ve medeniyete olan hidematını sırf cerr-i menfaat maksadına haml edenler İngiltere'yi menfaat-perestlikle itham etmek isterler. **[Sayfa 74]** Bizce herhalde İngiltere menafi-i milliyesini insaniyetin menafi-i umumiyesiyle tevhid edebildiği için şayeste-i tebrik ve insaniyete karşı ibraz ettiği hayr-hahlığı menafi-i milliyesi ile muvafık düşürdüğü için niyat ve temenniyatı şayan-ı emniyettir. İngiltere'nin Afrikaca olan metalibi içinde bulunan iki üç yüz milyon nüfus-ı beşeriyenin nail-i nimet ve medeniyet ve o sayede haiz-i servet ve mamuriyet olmasından ibarettir. İngiltere'nin *Boer* hükümetine olan tekalifi *Boer*lerin mensup olduğu anasırın ma-bihi'l-imtiyazı olan medeniyetin hadimi, o medeniyetin Afrikaca **[Sayfa 75]** naşiri olacak bir idare-i sahiha tesis eylemelerinden, İngiliz idaresinde bulunan *Afrikaner*lar ne gibi hukuk-ı siyasiye ve medeniyeye mazhar olursa Transvaal'de bulunan İngilizler, Almanlar, Fransızlar ve sair ecnas-ı muhtelif efradı cins ve levne, kavmiyet ve mezhebe bakmayarak aynı o hukuk-ı siyasiye ve medeniyeye mazhar olmaktan ibarettir. Bu talebin makrun-ı hak olduğunu kim inkar edebilir?

İngiliz ise bu talepte, bu davada bulunmağa vücutla salahiyyettardır. İngilizler yüz sene evvel Ümit Burnu'nu işgal ile Afrika-yı Cenubi'ye vaz'-ı yed ettikleri zaman **[Sayfa 76]** oralarını ne halde ve *Boer*lerin taht tahakkümünde bulunan kabail-i zencileriyle Cava müslümanlarını nasıl dil-hıraş bir zillet ve sefalette bulduklarını yukarıda beyan eyledik. Bu hal-i zulmet ve sefaletle karşı İngilizlerin birinci işi tabakat-ı mütefavitede bulunan ve hakim ile mahkum değil malik ile memluk denilecek kadar yekdiğerinden farklı bulunan iki sınıfı terkip eden efradın serbesti-i din ve vicdan kaziyesini teminle beraber suret-i mutlakada nail-i hürriyet olmalarına kafil olacak bir idare-i salime teessüs idi. Bu idare ise bir taraftan *Boer*lerin fevka'l-adl ve'-t-tabia olan **[Sayfa 77]** tahakkümat ve taaddiyatına set çekmiş diğer taraftan da *Boer*lere tarik-i hak ve salahı kabul ve Müslümanlara hürriyet-i kamile, müsavat-ı tamme ihraz ettirmiş ve zencilere şeref-i insaniyeti tanıttırmıştı. Bu idare sayesinde insandan hali kalan mahaller meskun oldu. Beyaz insana canavar, hunhar nazarıyla bakan zenciler insaniyetçe, terbiyece, dince, ahlakça, medeniyetçe onlara benzedi.

Onların hukuk ve mezayatını ihraz etmeğe alıştı. Afrika'da kendilerinden başka her manasıyla insan tanımak istemeyen *Boerler* ki İngiltere idaresinde kaldıkları günden beri **[Sayfa 78]** başını alıp kaçanlardan tefrik için *Afrikaner* denildi. Bunlar medeniyetin şerefini, kanun-ı adaletin kuvvetini takdire mecbur oldu. Efrad beynindeki ihtilaf-ı meşreb ber-taraf edildi ecnas beynindeki takaddüm ve tefazul davasını halleden hükümet-i adile onun tesis ettiği zabıta-i kanuniye ve rabıta-i maneviye sayesinde herkes müsavata, yekdiğeriyle kardeşçe muaşerete alıştı. Her tarafa yollar, köprüler, şimendöferler ihdas ve küşad, mektepler, camiler, kiliseler, darü's-sanayiler, darü'l-fünunlar, kütüphaneler, müzehaneler, azim şehirler tesis edildi. **[Sayfa 79]** Hasılı Ümit Burnu her cihetle Avrupa memalikinin en mamuruna benzedildi. Nihayetinde de usul-i meşrutiyet mükemmel surette mevki-i tatbika konularak kuvve-i idare Ümit Burnu müstemlekesinin sükkân-ı umumiyesine tevdi edildi. Usul-i meşveret ise levn ve sıfat, cins ve diyanet gözetileyerek umum ahalinin intihab ettiği azadan mürekkep olan meclis-i mebusan ve meclis-i ayanın taht-ı damanına aldırıldı. İdare-i merkeziye bu iki meclisin ekseriyetini teşkil eden tarafın seramedanından mürekkep bir heyete muhavvel ve heyet-ı idarenin muamelat ve icraatı **[Sayfa 80]** ve sukut ve tecdidi parlamentonun hüküm ve kararına muallaktır.

Gelelim Müslümanların bahsine: Bunların hali İngiltere idaresinin nazar-i dikkat ve rikkatini celp ettiğinden evvel-be-evvel İslamiyet'in şerefiyle mütenasip maabidin tesisi ve cemaat-ı İslamiye'nin bir mevki-i ihtiram ihrazı çaresini araştırmak için Ümit Burnu şehrinde zabıta memurluğunda bulunan Mister De Roubaix namında bir zat intihab edilmişti. Mister De Roubaix müslümanların kesb-i şeref ve itibar etmesi esbabının istihsaline kemal-i ciddiyetle sa'y etmişti. Kırım Muharebesi İngiltere Devleti **[Sayfa 81]** ile Devlet-i Osmaniye beyninde caygir olan muvalat ve musafat-ı kadimenin derece ve ehemmiyetini her tarafa ilan ve işaa etmiş olduğundan o vakte kadar Ümit Burnu Müslümanları da bu münasebetin mahiyet ve kıymetini takdir edebilecek bir hale gelmiş olduklarından İngiltere idaresi sayesinde mazhar oldukları adalet ve saadeti ve Mister De Roubaix'dan gördükleri insaniyet ve muaveneti dinen metbu-ı manevi siyaseten metbu-ı hakikilerinin dost-ı muazzamı bildikleri Sultan Abdülmecid merhuma arz eylemişlerdi. Mister De Roubaix'nın bu himmet ve hizmeti hakan-ı merhumun mahzuziyet-i **[Sayfa 82]** seniyesini mucip olub nişane-i takdir olmak üzere zi-kıymet hedaya-yı seniye ile tesrir olmuştu. Mister De Roubaix mazhar olduğu şu takdir-i aliye karşı Müslümanlara olan muhabbet ve muavenetini bir kat

daha tezyid eylemiş ve o sayede Ümit Burnunca olan itibar ve haysiyeti artırarak ve meclis-i mebusan azalığına namzed olmuştu.

*Afrikaner*lar yani Ümit Burnu'nda kalmış olan bu *Boer*ler Müslümanlara karşı olan hissiyat-ı istihkarkaranelerini ve husumet-i diniyelerini tamamiyle teskin edememiş olduklarından Müslümanlara bu derecede muhabbet [Sayfa 83] göstermemiş bir adamı mebusluğa layık görmemiş ve intihabına mani olmuşlar ise de iki sene sonra bir hususi intihabda Mister De Roubaix meclis-i ayan azalığına intihab olunmuştu. İngiltere Devleti ise Devlet-i Osmaniye'nin istihsal-i vesail-i kuvvet ve şevket etmesi yolunda envai müzaherat-i siyasiyede bulunduğu gibi Osmanlı padişahının haiz olduğu hilafet-i İslamiye kuvve-i kudsiyesinin alem-i İslamiyet'in her tarafına şaşaa-paş olmasına da delalet edegeldiğinden Ümit Burnu havalisinde bulunan ahali-i İslamiye'ye mukteziyat-ı diniyeyi telkin için ulemadan bir zatın tayin ve izamını Bab-ı Ali'den [Sayfa 84] talep eylemiş ve Mister De Roubaix'nın meclis-i ayan azalığında bulunduğu halde Devlet-i Aliye'nin Ümit Burnu Başşehbenderliğine tayini hususuna müsaade eylemişti. Mister De Roubaix Afrika-yı Cenubi Müslümanların ihtiyacat ve ahval-i mahsusanını ve çare-i ıslahını bizzat arz ve izah etmek için Sultan Abdulaziz merhumun bidayet-i saltanatlarında İstanbul'a kadar gelmiş ve o aralık idare-i devlet Fuad ve Âli Paşalar gibi dur-endiş vükelanın yed-i iktidarında bulunduğundan envai taltifata mazhar olarak ve iktiza eden talimatı ve Port Elizabeth şehrinde bir camiin [Sayfa 85] mesarif-i inşaiyesine karşılık olmak üzere Sultan Abdulaziz merhumun ihsan ettiği atıyeyi alarak mahall-i memuriyetine avdet eylemiş ve bir taraftan makam-ı hilafet-i kübradan memuren gönderilmiş olan Hoca Bekir Efendi merhumun telkin-i din ve tehzip-i ahlak yolundaki gayreti ve diğer taraftan Mister De Roubaix'in parlamentoca olan muavenet ve himmeti Müslümanların hukuk-ı medeniye ve siyasiyesini ve Afrika-yı Cenubice bir mevki ihrazını temin etmiştir. Maarif-i umumiye nizamname layihasının müzakeresi esnasında *Afrikaner*lar Müslümanları mekatib-i umumiyede [Sayfa 86] ulum-ı diniye tahsilinden mahrum kılmak için ulum-ı diniyenin vakt-i muayende tedrisini yalnız mekatib-i İseviye'ye hasır etmek istemişler ise de ekseriyetle bu davaları reddolunmuş ve meclis-i mebusan ve ayanda bulunacak azanın emr-i tahlifi Müslümanların kabul edebileceği şekil ve surete ifrağla Müslümanların da şura-yı millete duhulü hakkı temin edilmiştir.

Müslümanlar bugün Ümit Burnu'nun merkezinden ve en mühim bender ve şehirlerinde pek mümtaz bir mevki tutarak mekatib ve maabidi gayet muntazam ve terbiye ve ahlakça olan terakkileri din-i Muhammedi'nin şeref ve ulviyeti ile mütenasip dereceye [Sayfa 87] varmış olduğundan ihtidaya rağbet günden güne tezayüd etmekte ve muhtedinin aded-i nüfusu mütemadiyen tekessür eylemektedir.

Ümit Burnu Müslümanları ve Transvaal madenlerinde işleyip ilan-ı harb sebebiyle *Boerler* tarafından tard ve teb'id edilmiş olan Müslümanlar İngiltere idaresi sayesinde mazhar oldukları nimet-i hürriyet ve adaletin hakk-ı şükranını ifa için silah altına girip düşmanlara karşı kanlarını dökmeğe dinen ve vicdanen mecbur ve bu vazifeyi ifaya hazır olduklarını yek-zaban olarak Ümit Burnu Valisi Sir Alfred Milner'a arz u beyan etmişlerdir.

[Sayfa 88] Bu tafsilata girişmekten maksadımız Afrika dağlarında muharebe eden iki unsurun kuvvet ve medeniyetçe olan tefavüt ve tefazulu göstermek değildir. Asıl maksadımız İngiltere'nin Afrika-yı Cenubice takip ettiği makasından husulü Afrika zencilerinin, umum insaniyetin ve ale'l-husus alem-i İslamiyet'in menafi-i hazıra ve atiyesini temin edeceğini ve *Boerlerin* muvaffakiyetini temenni eylemek Afrika ahali-i mazlumesinin ile'l-ebed zulmet-i zulm ve zillet içinde kalmalarını, insaniyetin tekemmülünden mahrum, alem-i İslamiyet'in de meydan-ı siyaset ve medeniyette bir mevki-i mahsus ihraz edebilmek için [Sayfa 89] muhtaç olduğu hürriyet ve meziyete nail olmamasını temenni demek olacağını ispat etmektir.

Bu hakayika karşı Avrupa mahafil-i siyasiye ve efkar-ı umumiyesinin Transvaal Meselesi hakkındaki muhakemat ve takdiratı şayan-ı hayrettir. Dünya kurulalı yeryüzünde görülmemiş bir devlet-i muazzama tesisine, akl-ı beşerin şimdiye kadar tasavvur edemediği bir düstur-ı idarenin tatbikine muvaffak olan İngiltere'nin azamet ve şevketine karşı Avrupa devletlerince bir hiss-i istirkab beslendiği çoktan beri istişmam olunmuştu. Fakat İngiltere dünyanın her cihetinde olan hukuk ve şanını ve menafi-i mahsusasını [Sayfa 90] dehşetli kuvve-i bahriyesiyle müdafaa ve muhafaza ve bu hukuk ve menafiine hadim olan muvazene-i umumiyei sarsabilecek her nerede bir mesele ya hadise-i siyasiye zuhur eyleyecek olsa onu kuvve-i maneviyesinin tesiriyle fasl ederek kendisine muzır olmak maksadıyla el altında tertip olunan ittifakat-ı düveliyeye ve olur olmaz müşkilat-ı siyasiyeye nazar-ı bi-kaydiyle bakmakta ve hiçbir devlet İngiltere'nin kuvvetine karşı açıktan açığa mukavemet

eylemeğe ve boyunu göstermeğe cesaret etmemekte iken bu mesele her kavim ve devletin İngilterece olan nazariyat ve hissiyatını zahire çıkarmış **[Sayfa 91]** ve alemin hürriyet ve medeniyetini istihsal ve tezyid etmek şartıyla teali eden İngiliz unsuruyla akvam-ı şarkiyeyi esir etmekle cihangirliği kurmuş olan unsur beynindeki müsademenin hem la-büd ve hem de karibü'l-vuku olduğunu ispat eylemiştir.

Bu dehşetli müsademenin neticesi ise iki rakip unsurdan birinin muzafferiyetini temin edeceğinden ve birincinin muzafferiyeti bütün insaniyetin tekemmülüne hadim olmakla beraber akvam-ı şarkiyenin şeh-rah-ı irtikasını küşad ve ikincinin galibiyeti ise medeniyet-i umumiye'nin tevkifini ve umum akvam-ı şarkiyenin tahammül-güdaz **[Sayfa 92]** bir rıbka-i mahkumiyete girmesini intaç eyleyeceğinden ehl-i şark, ale'l-husus birinci hamlenin mahall-i vukuu ve biri insaniyetin hürriyetini diğeri esaretini istihsal için boğaz boğaza gelecek iki unsurun kanıyla boyanacak olan mıntıka ahali ki kamilen Müslümandır gafil ve ikbal ve istikbalini en hatarlı bir hale koyacak böyle bir müsademenin ehemmiyetini takdir hususunda bigane bulunamaz. Bu ihtimale karşı her Müslim ale'l-husus her Osmanlı mazideki ahval ve vukuat-ı siyasiyeyi mikyas tutarak menafi-i atiyesini, temin etmek için ne gibi teşebbüs ve tevessülata **[Sayfa 93]** muhtaç olacağını tayin etmelidir, alem-i İslamiyet'i esasından sarsacak bu melhame-i kübraya girişecek her kavim ve devletin menafi-i maliyesini, meslek-i siyasisini adap ve ahlak-ı kavmiyesini tetkik ile hangisinin İslamiyet'e faydası, hangisinin mazarratı olabileceğini, hangisinin mevcudiyet-i siyasiyesi ikbaliye kabil-i telif, hangisinin tekemmülü anasır-ı şarkiyenin izmihlalini müstelzim olacağını tetkik ve tamik eylemektir. Devlet-i Osmaniye ise şark ve garp beynindeki ihtilafat-ı müzmine ve muhacemat-ı mütekebileye nihayet vermek için ara yere girmek, garbın **[Sayfa 94]** medeniyetini kucaklamış, şarkın cism-i müşekkeline arkasını dayanmış ve muslih-i kaviyyü'l-azm olarak ortaya çıkmak ve alem-i İslamiyet'in ulviyet ve saadetini damin olan din-i Muhammedi'nin harisi, hilafet-i İslamiye'nin haizi bulunmak gibi bir kuvvet ve sıfata malik olduğundan kendi menafi-i hususiyelerini ve şerefın menabi-i umumiyesini telif edecek bir meslek-i ciddi tutmalıdır.

Şimdi Devlet-i Osmaniye'nin menafii nokta-i nazarından bakarak umur-ı şarkiyede alakadar olan ve şarkça tevsi-i iktidar yolunda rekabet-i daimede bulunan düvel-i muhtelifenin ahvalini tetkik **[Sayfa 95]** edelim. Bunların birincisi ve en kuvvetlisi İngiltere, ikincisi Rusya, üçüncüsü Fransa, dördüncüsü Boerlerin teş'a'ub ettiği

Hollanda'dır. İngiltere cezire olmak itibariyle her türlü taarruzat-ı hariciyeden masun olmak gibi bir hususiyet-i hale malik olmakla beraber kuvve-i bahriyesine istinad ederek hiç kimsenin el uzatamayacağı memalik-i vasiayı istila etmiş ve asr-ı sabıkın son rub'undaki Amerika İhtilali üzerine var kuvvetini Hind'in istimlakine ve aksa-i şarkça olan münasebat-ı ticariyesinin teksir ve tevsikine hasreylemiştir. Bu müstemlekat-ı cesimenin [Sayfa 96] muvaredat ve muvasalatı kuvve-i bahriyenin damanı tahtında bulunup her türlü taarruzdan masun bulunduğu ve fakat cihet-i tehdid memalik-i Osmaniye ve Hindistan'da icra-yı hükümet etmek kuvvet ve istidadını haiz yegane bir unsur var ise o da oranın Müslümanı olduğu cihetle İngiltere Devlet-i Osmaniye'nin ehemmiyetini ve kendüsine zahîr ve muin olmak şartıyla kesb-i kuvvet ve şevket eylemesinin menfaatini daha geçen asır içinde takdir etmişti. Bu takdiratın asar-ı fiiliyesini nasıl gösterdiğini devletimizin son asrın tarih-i siyasisini ispat eder.

Büyük Napolyon İngiltere'nin kuvvetini [Sayfa 97] kırmak için hazırladığı kuvve-i cünudiyesini memalik-i Osmaniye'ye tevcihle Mısır'ı istila ve Hindistan'ı tehdit etti: İngiltere kuvve-i bahriyesiyle Fransa donanmasını Ebuhur pişgahında yakıp bitirdikten sonra Süleyman Halebi hançerinin kurbanı olan General Kleber'in kumandasındaki Fransız askerini gemilerine ırkab ve Fransa'ya iade eyledi.

Yunanistan'ın istiklalini istihsal için harben müdahale eden ve Navarin'de Devlet-i Osmaniye donanmasının mahvına sebep-i müstakil olan Fransa kuvve-i bahriyeden mahrumiyetimizden [Sayfa 98] istifade ederek derhal Cezayir-i Garb'ı elimizden aldıktan sonra tekrar Mısır'a göz dikti.

Mısır Valisi Mehmed Ali Paşa'yı ayaklandırıp amaline hadim olabilmek için Osmanlı tahtını bile ihraz etmek ümidini verdi. İngiltere Devlet-i Osmaniye'nin mevcudiyetini tehdit eden gavailin en muhimmi olan bu Mısır meselesinde dost bir devlete ait kuru bir müzaheret-i siyasiye göstermekle iktifa eylemedi. Vükelasını bahr u ber ümerasını, süferasını, siyasi memurini Devlet-i Osmaniye'nin hizmetine tahsis etti. İnsanın elinden gelecek ne gayret, ne himmet var ise hiç [Sayfa 99] birisini diriğ etmeyerek Hünkar İskeleyi Muahedesi'nin havi olduğu sem kanalında, arkasını Fransa'ya dayatmış olan Mehmed Ali'nin birbirini vely eden muzafferiyatını da tesirsiz bıraktı. Ve akıbet saltanat-ı Osmaniye'nin istiklalini ve devletin tamamıyet-i mülkiyesini Londra Muahedesi'yle, Rusya ve Fransa dahil olduğu halde umum Avrupa

devletlerine tasdik ettirdi. Rusya, çürümüş addettiği cism-i düveline taze hayat verecek yeni bir unsurun iltihakına mani olmak için Mehmed Ali'nin huruç ve istilasına mukavemet etmiş ve Devlet-i Osmaniye bir daha eser-i hayat **[Sayfa 100]** gösteremeyecek bir hale gelmiş itikadında bulunarak sevinmekte bulunmuş iken intikam-ı idareye hail olan su-i istimalat-ı dahiliyeye nihayet veren ve şeh-rah-ı irtikabı küşad eyleyen Tanzimat-ı Hayriye'nin vaz' ve neşriyle beraber devlet harikulade bir kuvvet ve şevket kesb eylemeğe başladığından düvelini emr u nehyine tabi bir hale koymak veya bütün bütün mahv etmek azminde bulundu. Ve bir taraftan Devlet-i Aliye'yi tabiyet-i mutlakasına aldırarak tekalifi Mençikof vasıtasıyla kabul ettirmeğe ve diğer taraftan Mısır'la Girit ceziresini bahş ve terk etmeğe hazır **[Sayfa 101]** bulunduğunu göstermekle İngiltere'yi celbe kalkıştı.

İngiltere, Rusya İmparatoru'nun nazariyat ve teklifatını kabul etmekten başka Fransa'nın arz-ı Filistince olan hukuk-ı kadimesine karşı Rusya'nın dermeyan ettiği iddiaları redle mevkiini tahkim ve bu sayede Bonapart hanedanının hakk-ı saltanatı aleyhinde bulunan Viyana Muahedesi'nin ahkâmını ıskat eylemek arzusunda bulunan üçüncü Napolyon'un gösterdiği istidattan bi'l-istifade Kırım Muharebesi'ni meydana getirdi.

Fransa İmparatoru Üçüncü Napolyon **[Sayfa 102]** mücerret taht ve tacını tahkim için muhtaç olduğu münasebat-i siyasiyeyi tesis ve tevsi etmek üzere İngiltere'nin ittihadına güvenerek açmış olduğu muharebeyi aynı maksad-ı hususiye temin için Rusya'nın ittifakı sevdasına düşerek kapatmağa kalkışmış olduğu halde İngiltere Kırım ile Kafkasya'yı Rusya'nın elinden koparıp daima Rusya'ya mukavemet edebilecek bir heyet-i İslamiye-i kaviye teşkil etmekten ve Karadeniz'i Rusya Gölü olmak ihtimal ve istidadından çıkarmaktan ibaret olan maksad-ı ulviyi takip ederek böyle bir neticeyi istihsal etmezden evvel de terk-i **[Sayfa 103]** muhasamaya razı olmayacağını ve Devlet-i Osmaniye'nin atisini temin edecek bir suret-i sulh istihsal olunmazsa Devlet-i Osmaniye ile yalnız başına kalarak muharebeye devam edeceğini Fransa'ya da, Avusturya'ya da anlatmıştı. İngiltere'nin bu azim ve sebatını Devlet-i Osmaniye'ye en müsait şeraitle musalahanın akdine ve havza-i düveliyeye duhulüyle istiklal-i idaresinin umum Avrupa'nın damanı tahtına aldırılmasına sebep oldu. Gariptir ki İmparator Napolyon Devlet-i Osmaniye'nin tamamiyet-i mülkiyesine kafil olan Paris Muahedesi'nin mürekkebi kurumamış ve o uğurda dökülen kanlar

yeryüzünden **[Sayfa 104]** silinmemiş olduğu halde Tunus ile Trablusgarp ve tevabiini muahharan elinden almak üzere Sardinya'ya vermek ve Fas'ı Fransa'ya ve Mısır'ı İngiltere'ye aldirmek teklifinde bulundu.

Lord Palmerston ise Paris Konferansı'nda birinci murahhas sıfatıyla bulunan İngiltere Hariciye Nazırı Lord Clarendon'a: "Lord Cowley Afrika hakkındaki teklifi reddettiğimizi imparatora beyan için ne kadar istical eder ise o kadar hayırlıdır. İhtimaldir ki birçok memalik Fransa'nın, İngiltere'nin, Sardinya'nın **[Sayfa 105]** idaresine geçecek olur ise daha ziyade mesut olur. Uzağa da gitmeğe hacet yoktur. İtalya, Sicilya, İspanya büyük misaldir. Fakat Fransa ile İngiltere beyninde caygir olan ittifakın ehemmiyeti iki devletin kuvve-i bahriye ve berriyesinden ziyade bu ittifaka esas olan kuvve-i maneviyeye müsteniddir. İttifakımızdan maksad na-hak taarruzata mukavemet etmek zebun ve mazlumu galibin pençe-i tahakkümünden kurtarmak, devletlerin muvazene-i mülkiye-i hazırasını muhafaza eylemektir. Fas'ı Fransa'ya, Tunus'la memalik-i saireyi Sardinya'ya, Mısır'ı İngiltere'ye zabt **[Sayfa 106]** ettirmekle Lehistan usul-i mukasemesini Afrika kıtasında tatbiki nasıl cüriyab olabiliriz? Ale'l-husus İngiltere ile Fransa ki Türkistan'ın tamamıyet-i mülkiyesini taahhüd etmişlerdir. Bu iki devlet, Osmanlı padişahının hukuk-ı hükümraniyesine taarruz etmeğe Mısır ve Tunus'u elinden koparmağa kalkışmak için hangi hakka istinad edebilir," mealinde bir mektup yazarak, imparatorun Türkistan'ın mukasemesi ve Bahr-i Sefid, sevhil-i cenubiyesinin Müslüman idaresinden çıkarılması hakkındaki tekalif-i garibesini şiddetle reddeyledi.

[Sayfa 107] Rusya, Paris Muahdesi'nin ahkâmını feshettirmek ve iki devlet beynindeki ittifakı bozmak himmetini Fransa'dan bekleyerek birkaç sene teenni etmiş ise de Napolyon'un İngiltere ittifakını kolaylıkla feda edemeyeceğini anlayınca Devlet-i Osmaniye'nin idaresine karşı ithamat bataryalarını çıkarıp mermiyattan daha müessir olan notaları yağdırmağa başlamış ve ibtida Rumları sonra da Slavları tahrikle Girit ihtilalini ve Hersek Bosna kıyamını meydana çıkarmıştır. Bu iki ihtilalin teskinine ve hele Bosna Hersek vekayii üzerine üç imparatorun eser-i ittifakı ve netice-i **[Sayfa 108]** müzakeratı olarak ibtida Kont Andraşi tarafından tertip ve kabinelere tebliğ olunan nota ve muahharan Berlin'de tanzim olunup düvel-i muazzamanın kabulüne mazhar olan mahud layiha münderecatını hükümsüz

bırakmak için İngiltere'nin tek başına mücahede edip muvaffak olması İngiliz politikasının ne derecede metin olduğunu ispat eder teşebbüsat-ı siyasiyedendir.

Vaktaki Rusya kendi menafine müsait gördüğü Avrupa politikasının ve Türkistan idare-i dahiliyesinin bir inkılab-ı azime uğramak istidadını hissedip fırsatı **[Sayfa 109]** kaçırmamak için cihanın mahfuziyet-i umumiyesine mazhar olmuş olan bina-yı Devlet-i Osmaniye'yi tek başına yıkmağı gözüne aldı.

İngiltere, Bulgaristan vekayi-i müellimesinin tesiri üzerine efkar-ı umumiyenin aleyhimizde bulunması cihetiyle fiilen ve harben muavenet edebilmek imkanını görmediğinden Âli Paşa'nın ziya'ından sonra idare-i merkeziyece olan yolsuzlukların açmış olduğu yaraları kapatacak ve galeyana gelmiş efkar-ı umumiye'yi teskin edecek tedabir-i ıslahiye'nin sürat-ı ittihaz ve tatbikini tavsiye etmekle beraber bu babdaki tekalif-i vakıa reddolunduktan ve Avrupa'nın **[Sayfa 110]** teklif ettiği ıslahat-ı hususiye yerine umuma şamil olmak ve dünyanın emniyet ve itimadını celp etmek üzere ilan edilen Islahat-ı Esasiye'nin mahiyet ve kuvveti izale edildikten sonra da yalnız başına kalacağını bildiği Devlet-i Osmaniye'yi Rusya'ya ezdirmemek için muharebenin vukuu ihtimalini ber- taraf ve ihtilafı vesait-i siyasiye ile halletmek çaresini istihsal eylemişti. Bu yolda olan sa'y u gayreti bir dereceye gelmişti ki hissiyat-ı insaniyet-perveraneye mağlup olan İngiliz efkar-ı müfrita ashabı itham ve Hristiyanlık gayretini güden Avrupa matbuatı **[Sayfa 111]** İngiltere idaresiyle İngiliz milletini adeta Hintleşmiş, Müslümanlaşmış ve salib tacını Müslüman sarığına değiştirmiş gibi sözleriyle tezyif etmeğe kalkışmıştı.

İngiltere Devleti muharebeye iştirak edemeyeceğini kat'i ve pek resmi suretle bildirmiş ve Londra Protokolü ile muharebeye lüzum ve mahal bıraktırmamış olduğu halde devletin bunu redle bunca mesaib-i dil-hıraşa sebebiyet veren muharebeye girişmesi tarihin kolaylıkla tevil ve affedemeyeceği hatiat ve seyyiat-ı siyasiyedendir. Bununla beraber kendi ihtiyarımızla davet olunmuş **[Sayfa 112]** bir belaya düştükten ve iki taraf beyninde muhasamat başladıktan sonra da İngiltere muharebenin Devlet-i Osmaniye'nin izmihlal-i tammıyla hitam bulmasına imkan bırakmayacak teminatı istihsalden geri kalmadı. Rusya, İngiltere'nin bitarafıktan çıkmasından fevkalade tevehhüm eylediğinden bu bitarafılığı temin için her türlü taahhüdata girişmeğe mecburiyet görmüş olduğundan İstanbul ile Hint tarik-i muvaredatını hiçbir suretle işgal ve tehdit edilmeceğine dair teminat-ı kaviye doğrudan doğruya imparator

tarafından verildiği gibi Mısır'a ve Fırat Vadisi'yle Basra Körfezi'ne de hiç [Sayfa 113] bir suret ve namla taarruz vuku bulmayacağı ve Devlet-i Osmaniye Rus askeri Balkan silsilesinin cihet-i cenubiyesine geçmezden evvel sulha talip olur ise uğradığımız mukasemeye mahal bırakmayacak şerait-i hafife ile derhal terk-i muhaseme ve akd-i musalaha edileceği hem imparator ve hem de Rusya Devleti namına taahhüd edilmişti. İngiltere'nin bu hizmet ve himmetinden de istifade edilemedi ise de Rusya'nın Ayastefanos Muahedesi gibi mühlik ve adeta heyet-i devletin idamı hükmünü mutazammın bir ilam-i siyasinin hükümsüz kalması İngiltere'nin donanma ile İstanbul'un imdadına yetişmesi [Sayfa 114] ve toplarını Ayastefanos'ta bulunan Rus ordusuna çevirmesi sayesinde olduğunu umum Osmanlılar hem tasdik ve hem de ile'l-ebed lisan-ı şükranla yad ederler.

İngiltere merkez-i saltanat olan İstanbul şehrini Rusya'nın darbe-i yedinden kurtardıktan ve Rumeli eyaletini Avrupa muvazene-i umumiyesinin istikrarına hadim olacak bir hale koyduktan sonra Rusya'nın tehdidi altında kalan Asya-yı Osmani'ye hasr-ı nazar-ı ehemmiyet etmiş ve memalik-i şahanece ciddi ve umumi ıslahat-ı mülkiye icraası taahhüd ve İngiliz askerinin Asya-yı Osmani'ye karib [Sayfa 115] bir mevki-i hakimde ikameti temin olunmak ve o mevki-i hakim daire-i mülkiye-i Osmaniye'den hariç tutulmamak şartıyla Rusya'nın taaruzat-ı atiyesine kuvve-i berriye ve bahriyesiyle mukabele etmeği taahhüd eylemiş ve Berlin Muahedesi tanzim olunmazdan evvel bu taahhüdat-ı müteakibileyi mutazammın olan Kıbrıs Muahedesi akd ve imza edilmişti. Kıbrıs gibi cesim ve mühim bir cezireyi feda etmek mukabilinde İngiltere ile akdolunan şu tedafüi ittifakın şimdiye kadar semere ve faydası görülmemiş ise de bu ittifak cism-i devlet için müzmin ve mühlik olan su-i idare marazının iltiyamını ve ecel-i hail gibi [Sayfa 116] daimen gözümüzün önünde tecessüm eden Rusya taaruzat ve mazarratının indifanı temin eylediğinden Osmanlılar nazarında selamet-i atiyelerine medar bir mümsek-i kıymettar olarak telakki olunur.

Şimdi gelelim alem-i İslamiyet için en canlı, İngiltere ile Devlet-i Osmaniye beyninde revabit-ı hub ve muvalatın tahkimine, münasebat-i siyasiyenin devamına hizmet eden mesailin en ehemmiyetlisi olan Mısır meselesine:

Devlet-i Osmaniye mevcudiyet-i siyasiyesinin İngiltere menafi-i milliyesine olan hizmetinin derecesi İngilterece takdir olunduğu, meşhur Lord Chatham'ın: "Devlet-i

Osmaniye'nin tamamıyet-i **[Sayfa 117]** mülkiyesinin ehemmiyet ve faydasını takdir etmeyen İngiliz'e mecnun nazarıyla bakıp tevcih-i hitaba bile tenezzül etmem" sözleriyle İngiltere meslek-i siyasiyesini tayin eylediği günden beri İngiltere nazarı hakimiyet-i Osmaniye medarının iki nokta-i ihtirakı olan İstanbul Boğazlarıyla Mısır'a matuf olmuştur. Süveyş Cedveli'nin küşadı Mısır'ın zaten haiz olduğu ehemmiyet-i mevkiyesini bir kat daha artırmış olduğu gibi İngiltere'nin de bu hıttı-i mühimmenin memalik-i Osmaniye'ye devam-ı irtibatı hakkındaki arzu ve iltizam-ı ciddisini takviye etmişti.

[Sayfa 118] [Bu] kadar kesb-i kudret eylemiş olan Mehmed Ali'nin adi bir eyalet valisi menzilesine indirilmesine ve Mısır valiliğinin Mehmed Ali ailesine tevarüs hakkının mücerret kavanin-i umumiye-i devlete tebeiyet-i mutlaka ve zat-ı padişahiye sadakat-ı kamile göstermek kaydıyla mukayyet ve meşrut olmasına sebep-i mustakil olan o İngiltere Mehmed Ali ailesine mahsus bir hakk-ı tevarüsten ibaret olan bir imtiyazın Mısır idaresinin muhtariyete münkalib olduğuna delalet edecek şekil ve kalıba ifrağına ahiren gösterilen müsaadat-ı kuteh-[binliğin tevlid edeceği] mazarrat-ı siyasiyeyi [there is a missing line] **[Sayfa 119]** geri kalmamıştır. Fransa ise öteden beri Bahr-i Sefid hakimliğini kurmuş ve bu amal-i milliyesinin husulüçün Afrika sevahil-i şimaliyesini boydan boya zapt ve teshir azminde bulunduğunu ta Saint Louis zamanından bugüne kadar gelen hükümdarların ve teessüs eden heyet-i idarelerin cümlesinin tefevvühat-ı resmiye ve teşebbüsat-ı siyasiyeleriyle ispat eylemiştir.

Fransa Berlin Konferansı'ndan, nasipsiz çıktığından münfail olup cebr-i noksan için Tunus'u elimizden koparıp aldı. Ve hukuk-ı hükümrâninin müdafaasıçün donanma-yı hümayunun sevk ve izamı ihtimaline karşı donanmamızın **[Sayfa 120]** bir ikinci Navarin'e gönderileceğini resmen beyanla Devlet-i Osmaniye'yi tehdit ve Mısırca olan amal-i istila-cuyanesinden fariğ olmadığını ispat eyledi. İngiltere, Fransa'nın şu malumat ve teşebbüsatına karşı tebassur ve ihtiyatı her vakitten ziyade artırarak gözünü Mısır'a atfetmiş olduğu sırada mahud Arabi Vakıası baş göstermişti. Bu vaka adi bir zamanda ehemmiyetten ari tutulabilirse de Mısır malik-i hakikisinin dehşet-engiz bir harbin tesirat-ı cansuzunu henüz izale etmediği, Mısır idare-i hidiviyesinin muzlim bir buhran-ı mali ile pençelediği ve Fransa'nın **[Sayfa 121]** Tunus'u istila ettiği bir zamana tesadüf eylediğinden İngiltere'ye büyük endişeler verecek derecede ehemmiyetli idi. Bununla beraber İngiltere, Mısırca Devlet-i Osmaniye'nin hukuk-ı

hükümransinin tahkim ve takviyesinden başka bir maksat takip etmediğinden Arabi kıyamının teskini için de kuvve-i Osmaniye'nin istimalinden başka çare aramadı. Fransa ise müdahale-i Osmaniye'ye şiddetle muhalefet ve bir tek Türk neferinin bile Mısır'a ayak basmasına razı olmayacağını beyan etmekle Tunus'dan Mısır'a geçmek ve Saint Louis intikamını yarım bırakmamak arzusunda bulunduğunu göstermiş ve İngilizlerin endişesini **[Sayfa 122]** bir kat daha artırmıştı İngiltere'nin Mısırca gösterdiği ciddiyetle kabil-i telif olmayan Fransa'nın mütelevvinane ve münafıkane hareketi ve devlet-i hakimenin tereddüt ve teennisi meseleyi muhaberat-i resmiye ve mükalemat-ı düveliyeye düşürmüş ve erbab-ı kıyamın vaziyet ve cüretini İngiltere'yi kuvve-i cebriye istimaline mecbur kılacak dereceye varırmış idi. Fransız donanmasının İngiliz donanmasıyla yanyana hareket etmekte iken İskenderiye'nin topa tutulacağı sırada İskenderiye'den ayrılıp kaçması ve İstanbul'da içtima eden konferans kuvve-i Osmaniye'nin Mısır'a sevkıyla hakk-ı hükümransinin **[Sayfa 123]** istimali ve vazife-i matbuiyetin ifası kararını bi'l-ittifak devlete arz ve teklif eylediği halde bu politikanın Fransa menafii için mühlik olduğunu ispat edecek yolda müzakeratın Paris Parlamentosu'nda cereyan etmesi Fransa'nın yegane maksadı saltanat-ı seniye'nin Afrikaca olan hukuk-ı hükümransini ıskat etmiş ve hilafet-i İslamiye'nin rabıta ve nüfuzunu ref' u izale olduğunu meydana çıkarmıştır.

İstanbul'daki konferans devleti Mısır'a asker sevkine davet etmek kararını verdiği sırada Paris Parlamentosu içtima ederek Fransa'nın nafizü'l-kelimi ve efkar-ı **[Sayfa 124]** umumiyesinin tercümanı olan meşhur Gambetta şu yolda idare-i lisan eder: "Konferans Mısır'ı teskine Türkleri memur etmek kararını vermek ihtimali vardır. Bence karar Fransa'nın kabul etmeyeceği en muzır karardır. Türkü ehramların önüne tekrar getirmek bizim için Tunus'ta ve Cezayir'de ateşle oynamaktır. Türkü, Fransa sancağı altında olarak Mısır'a tekrar götürmek, tekmil şarka halife sizin hakiminiz olmuştur, demektir. Fransa'nın elli senelik politikasını, hayır yanıliyorum, Fransa'nın Nil vadisindeki birkaç asırlık politikasını imha **[Sayfa 125]** etmektir. Eğer bir musibet olmak üzere sultanın, halifenin muntazam taburlarını tekrar Cami-i Ezher önünde görecektir isem Fransa'nın Mısırca olan amalane, Mısır'daki Fransızların ihraz-ı şan ve hakimiyet eylemesi hakkındaki temenniyatımıza elveda demeliğimiz lazım gelir." Bu nutuk Fransa'nın Mısırca olan amalini ve makam-ı hilafete karşı beslediği hissiyatı teşrihe lüzum bırakmayacak surette tasvir etmiştir.

Fransa'nın şu hissiyat-ı garibesi İngiltere'nin Devlet-i Osmaniye ile ittihad-ı menafiine iras-ı nakısa edecek vesail taharrisi [Sayfa 126] arzusunda bulunanların tesvilatı Mısır meselesince ta bidayetden beri tevali eden hatiatın zuhuruna badi olan ahval-i ledünniyenin mahiyetini ve muahharen tanzim edilen ve kraliçenin kabul ve tasdikine iktiran eden Drummond Wolff itilafnamesinin teatisine Fransa sefirinin mümanaat eylesinin illetini tayine kafidir. (Mısır mesele-i muhimmesi başkaca tedkik ve risale-i mahsusa ile neşredileceğinden bu babdaki hatiat ve ondan mütevellit mesuliyet ayrıca gösterilecektir.)

Mısır bir heyet-i kaviye-i İslamiye'nin vücuduna, kuvve-i kudsiye-i hilafetin devamına ne kadar hadim [Sayfa 127] ise İngiltere ittifak ve itilafı dahi bu heyet-i kaviyenin mevcudiyeti Devlet-i Osmaniye'nin hayat-ı siyasiyesi için o kadar lazımdır. Mısır'ın İngilizlerle olan ittihad ve itilafımızın devamına mani farz olması alem-i İslamiyet için ne kadar büyük bir felaket ise, Devlet-i Osmaniye için o kadar büyük bir musibettir.

Bu hale karşı her Müslüman, her Osmanlı ne kadar teessür gösterse becadır. Bununla beraber ihtilafın itilafa münkalib olmasına mani olan müşkilat-ı arızıyenin indifaından ve menafi-i müteakabilenin ilcaat-ı mübremesinden olan rabıta-i sahihanın iade ve istikrarından ümitvar değil [Sayfa 128] adeta mutmain olmakla müteselliyiz.

İngiltere Mısır'ı kuvve-i askeriyesiyle işgal edeli, idare-i umumiyesine nezaret hakkında mutlaku'l-inan olalı on sekiz senedir bununla beraber Mısır'ın makam-ı mualla-yı hilafete olan irtibat-ı manevisi ve ecza-yı mütemimme-i mühimmesinden olduğu Devlet-i Osmaniye'ye olan rabıta-i mülkiye ve siyasiyesi mahfuz kalmıştır. İdare-i hidiviye ammeye emniyet-bahş olacak hatta memalik-i şarkiyenin cümlesinden ziyade Mısır'da hüküm-ferma olan nüfuz ve müdahalat-ı ecnebiyeyi tenkis edecek bir hal-i intizama gelmiştir. ve şâvirhum fi'l-emr⁶²⁰ hükm-i [Sayfa 129] celiline ittibaa ve bu hikmet-i hükümet-i kuraniye dairesinde icra-yı hükümet sayesinde fevz ve felahla mübeşşer olan her heyet-i İslamiye için vacibü'l-imtisal olan usul-i meşveret mukaddematı mevki-i tatbiki konulmuştur. Din-i Muhammedi'nin, medeniyet-i hazıranın damin olduğu adab-ı umumiye, hukuk-ı medeniye, hürriyet-i şahsiye

⁶²⁰ “(...) İş konusunda onlarla müşavere et. (...)” (Â-i İmrân, 3/159.)

muhafaza olunmakla beraber hürriyet-i fikrin, hürriyet-i kelamın, hürriyet-i neşrin, şarkta ve alem-i İslamiyet'te mümkünü't-tatbik olduğu ispat olunmuştur.

Mısır erbab-ı kaleminin, Mısır matbuat-ı İslamiyesi'nin ale'l-husus, Mısır menafi-i **[Sayfa 130]** umumiyelerini muhafaza yolundaki mücahedat-ı mütetabiasıyla kesb-i iştihar eylemiş el- Müeyyed muharrir-i hamiyetkarın hissiyat-ı teali-perveranelerinin timsal-i mücessemi olarak telakki ettiğimiz neşriyat ve tazallümatını takdis ederiz. Fakat bu figan ve feryadlarını her şeye itiraz edebilmek salahiyatlerini bahş ve temin eden bir hürriyet-i kamileye nail olduklarına delil tuttuğumuzu da kendilerine ihtare mecburuz.

İngiltere'nin Mısır'a şu müdahalesi, Mısır'ın tekemmülüne, Mısıryunun terakkisine olan şu hizmeti menafi-i ticariyesinin, muvasalat-ı bahriyesinin temini maksadına mebni olduğunda **[Sayfa 131]** şüphe yoktur. Fakat mademki İngilizler başlarında fes, önlerinde hilal olduğu halde daire-i Mısriye'yi ki izafeti cihetiyle daire-i Osmaniye demektir, onu tevsi ve Afrika mıntika-i İslamiyesi'ni teşkil eden Sudan'ın rabıta-yı ittihadını tahkim ve bu mıntıkanın anasır-ı İslamiyesi'ni tenvire sa'y ediyorlar. Bu hizmet-i mühimmenin kendilerine bahşedeceği menafii teminle beraber menafi-i müteakabile muktezasından olan ittihad ve itilafı alem-i İslamiyet için mahz-ı nimet, Devlet-i Osmaniye'nin beka-yı mevcudiyeti için yegane çare-i selamet olarak kabul etmek lüzumunu itiraf eyleriz.

[Sayfa 132] İngiltere'nin idarece olan meslek-i itidalkaranesinden, mümsek-i teali-perveranesinden kaffe-i müstemlekat ve müstamerat-ı vasiyası ve onda mütemekkin bulunan ahali-i mütenevvianın ale'l-husus haiz-i mevki-i mühim olan akvam-ı İslamiye'nin istifade ettikleri kabil-i inkar değildir.

Hindistan'ı ele alalım: Yarım asır evvel Hint müstemleke-i cesimesi kumpanyanın elinden alınıp İngiltere Devleti'nin idaresine alınacağı sırada esas-ı idaresi mevki-i müzakereye konulmuştu. O vakıtın baş vekili ve Muhafazakar Fırkası'nın reisi bulunan Lord Derby **[Sayfa 133]** İngiltere'nin Hint idaresince olan nazariyatını atideki nutuk ile tasvir ve tayin etmiştir.

“Hint akvamı elbette Avrupa usul-i idaresinden istifade edecek bir hale gelmemiştir. Fakat bugün kabul edeceğim bir hakikat var ise o da Hint kavmi idare-i umur-ı dahiliyelerine fiilen iştirak edebilmek akıl ve hikmetin müsaade eyleyeceği derecede

vasi bir iktidarı ihraz eylemeleri esbabının istihsaline çalışmak bizim için insaniyet, ahlak ve diyanet menafinin icap ettirdiği bir vazife olduğunu itiraf etmektir. Bu akvam İngiltere hükümetinin, İngiltere kanununun [Sayfa 134] taht-ı himayesinde istimal-i hakk-ı idare etmekle İngiltere kanununu takdire, İngiltere kanununu taklide ve belki bir gün olur da ondan daha mükemmel bir kanun vaz'ına muvaffak olurlar. Eğer bu milletin umur-ı dahiliyelerini idare etmek hakkını tedricen ihraz etmesinin neticesi umur-ı adliyesinden başka umur-ı siyasiyesine dahi daha ciddi, daha vasi bir suretle iştirak etmesi arzusunun husulü olacak olursa Hintlilerin amal ve ihtisasatı İngiltere'nin Hindistanca olan kudret ve hükümetinin sukutunu bile intaç edecek derede tevessü edecek olursa bu güzel kudretle [Sayfa 135] Hindistan'da hükümferma olan İngiltere Hükümeti birkaç asır sonra kendi eliyle intihar edecek olursa Hindistan akvamını zulmet-i cehlden, ribka-i butlandan kurtarmış ve suret-i istimal ve istifadesini talim etmiş olduğumuz usul ve kavanin-i adliyenin tesiriyle suret-i müstakillanede idare olabilmek iktidarını kendilerine ihraz ettirmiş olacağımızdan millet-i muazzamamız daima şerefli ve Hintliler daima bize karşı minnettar kalacaktır.” Böyle nazariyat-ı ulviyeye müstenid olan bir usul-i idarenin tatbikat ve semeratı da elbette ulvi olur. Nimet-i adaletten hisse-mend olmak, [Sayfa 136] şeref-i insaniyeti takdire mani olan ahval-i maneviyeyi, makasıd-ı siyasiyeyi, mutekadat-ı batılayı azar azar tadil ve ref' eylemek, insanın mesai-i mütevaliyesinden muntazar olan tekemmül ve temeddün şeh-rahını açmak gibi niyat-i ulviyeye, nazariyat-ı hikemiyeye müstenid olan şu idare öyle birtakım eazım-ı rical-i siyasiyeye tevdi edilmiştir ki onların azim ve himmeti menabi-i servet-i tabiiyenin kesreti, nüfus-ı ahalinin vefreti, mevkiin ehemmiyeti itibariyle bir alem-i mahsus denilecek kadar mühim ve cesim olan Hindistan'ı sahihten irtika yoluna koymuş ve artık her manasıyla medeniyetin aksa-yı meratibine vusul [Sayfa 137] bulmak esbabını tehyie ve temin eylemiştir. Yollar açmak, büyük şehirler tesis etmek, envar-ı maarifi her tarafa yaydırmak, servet ve ticarete hadim olan karhaneler küşad etmek, muamelat ve muvaredatı teshil ve temin edecek vesait-i mütenevviayı bulundurmak, emniyet-i mal ve canı bahşeden kavanini vaz' ve neşreylemek, onların mer'iyet-i ahkâmını temin edecek idare-i mülkiyeyi tanzim, mehakim-i adliyeyi teşkil etmek, kudret-i hükümeti, kuvvet-i kanunu her hal ve ihtimale karşı tanıtıracak kuvve-i maneviyeyi kudret-i cünudiye ile beraber bulundurmak bir cemiyet-i beşeriyenin muhtaç olduğu [Sayfa 138] medeniyetin vesait-i teminiyesinden madud ise bunların cümlesi Hindistan'da mevcuttur. Fakat İngilizler lüzum-ı intizamı tatmış, her cemiyet-i medeniyede

mevcudiyeti la-büd olan bu vesaiti istihzarla iktiza etmemiştir. İnsan tam medeniyet içinde bulunduğunu, tam madelete nail olduğunu itiraf edebilmek ve o sayede müsterihü'l-bal olabilmek için azim ve amali tezayüd ettikçe heyet-i hakime-i idarenin istimal ettiği vesayetin tenakus ettiğini görmeli, her zaman ve mekan için la-yetegayyer olan kavanin-i ahlakiye ahkamına muhalif olmadıkça amal ve temenniyatı ne kadar vasi olursa olsun **[Sayfa 139]** husulünden ümitsiz olmamalı. İşte Anglo-Sakson denilen unsurun akvam-ı salife ve muasırada görülmemiş bir fazilet-i mahsusası, bir kudret-i zeka-yı harikuladesi varsa o da bu dekayıkı bi-hakkın takdir ve kaffe-i ahval ve muamelatta bu dekayıkı düstur-ı imtisal addeylemesidir.

Anglo-Sakson denilen tabaka-i ulviye-i beşeriye, medeniyetin terakkisini, hürriyetin derecesi ve hürriyetin derecesini hakk-ı vesayetin tedenni-i istimaliyle mukayese ve adaletin derece-i mükemmelliyetini İngilizlik şerefini ihraz etmiş her şahsında, her kavminde daire-i amal ve temenniyatının gayr-ı mahdud surette kabil-i ittisa olmasıyla muvazene eder. İngilizler **[Sayfa 140]** böyle ulvi bir mesleği insilak sayesinde o derecede akvam-ı saireye tefevvuk etmiştir ki yalnız eski Romalılar kendilerine şebih tutulabilir fakat müsavi tutulamaz.

Romalılar kesb-i kuvvet ve miknet etmiş bir eyalet valisinin tesis ettiği idareyi ref etmek için ordular sevk ederdi. İngilizler ise dünyanın en meçhul kıtalarında bir ticaretgah-ı azim tesis, bir devlet idaresi teşkil eden bir İngiliz'in menafi-i ticariyesini, makasıd-ı siyasiyesini temin için ordular sevk eder. Temenniyat ve teşebbüsat-ı şahsiye dairesinin gayr-ı mahdud surette **[Sayfa 141]** ittisa edebilmesi, kuvve-i hakime-i merkeziyenin en adi bir İngiliz'in muhafaza-i can ve şanına en edna bir menfaatin temin-i husulüne matuf ve münhasır olması sayesinde Anglo-Sakson unsuru dünyada misli görülmemiş bir medeniyet, bir şevket, bir hükümet vücuda getirmiştir.

Hint valileri içinde ulviyet-i azm ve hürriyet-i fikr ile en ziyade iştihar etmiş olan Lord Ripon Hindistan İngiltere'nin idaresinde bulundukça İngiltere menafiini temin edecek esbaba tevessül lüzumunu itirafla beraber Hint tebeasının İngiltere'den mustağni **[Sayfa 142]** olması yolunu göstermek vücubuna da kail olmuş ve silsile-i ıslahatı bu fikrin tazammun ettiği hikmete tevfiik eylemiştir. Lord Ripon idare-i karyeden başlayarak karyelerde örf ve adetle hükümden hey'et-i sulhiyeyi ibka ve idare-i maliye ve hususat-ı sairesini rü'yete memur olan ihtiyar heyetlerinin ve nahiye

ve kaza meclislerinin ve şehirdeki belediye dairelerinin ve Hint valisiyle Bombay ve Madras valileri nezdinde bulunan heyet-i nazımelerinin teşkilatını ve azasının suret-i intihabını ıslah etmiştir. Bu teşkilat idare-i mahalliye'nin intizam-ı cereyanına ve Hintlilerin idarede **[Sayfa 143]** olan iştirakinin istihsaline pek çok hizmeti olmuş ise de Hindistan'ın hayat-ı kavmiyesinin mukaddimesi idare-i milliyesinin devre-i ulası denilecek bir şey var ise o da Hindistan muhibbi bulunan birtakım İngiliz ekabir ve muharririn sevk ve teşvikiyle birkaç seneden beri içtimaa başlamış ve *kongre* namıyla şöhret bulmuş olan meclis-i umumidir.

Bu meclis-i umumi altı yüzden bin iki yüze kadar azası olduğu halde her sene Hindistan'ın meşhur şehirlerinin birisinde münavebe suretiyle içtima ederek sene-i sabıkanın ahvalini tetkik, neşrolunmuş kavaninin **[Sayfa 144]** muhassenatı meşhud ise beyan-ı teşekkür, nevakısı ve mazarratı görülmüş ise tariz ve esbab-ı ıslahiyeyi irae, şikayat-ı sabıkayı tekrar, ihtiyacat-ı cedideyi tadad ve tezkar, idare-i mülkiye, umur-ı nafia, ahval-i maliye, maarif-i umumiye, hıfzıssıhha, nizamat-ı sanaiye ve ticariye, kaht ve vebanın ref'i, mamuriyetin, hürriyetin tevessüü hakkındaki tedabirin ve bu gibi Hindistan'ın ahval-i içtimaiye ve siyasiyesine müteallik mesaili tetkik ve müzakere eder ve bu mesail-i mühimme hakkında aza-yı mevcudeden en natıkalı, en nüfuzlu, iki üç zat tarafından birer nutuk irad olunduktan sonra **[Sayfa 145]** ekseriyat-ı ara ile bir karar verir: Matbuat-ı Hindiye ise bu müzakerat ve mukarreratı telhis ve tenkit ederek enzar-ı umumiyyeye vaz' eyler.

Bu meclis-i umumi Hindistan ahalisinin idare-i umur-i dahiliyesini tenkit ve murakabeye kesb-i istihkak eylediğini ve aza-yı müslimenin müzakerat ve mukarreratça icra ve imal ettikleri nüfuzu Hindistan'daki Müslümanların nüfusça ekseriyeti teşkil eden ahali-i saireye faik ve Hintçe nüfuzu müessir bir unsur olduğunu ispat ediyor. Müslümanların bu suretle ihraz-ı mevki-i iktidar ve imtiyaz etmesi şeref-i dinin itilasına ve daire-i ihtidanın **[Sayfa 146]** ittisama badi oluyor.

İngiltere idaresinin bahşettiği hürriyet-i fikr, hürriyet-i kelim, hürriyet-i neşr gibi kuvvetin tesiriyle gerek Hindistan ve gerek müstemlekat ve müstemerat-ı saire ilan-ı kelimetullah için vasi bir meydan-ı cihad olmuştur. Müslüman tüccar ve esnafı ticaret ve sınaat arkadaşları arasında ve çırakları içinde, hüccac ve meşayih çarşı ve pazarda telkin-i diyanet ederler. Hacı Mehmed namında bir dindar bir iki sene zarfında iki yüz bini mütecaviz Hindi'yi daire-i ihtidaya almağa muvaffak olmuştur. Kadı Nasır Abad,

Safder Ali namında diğerk bir zat **[Sayfa 147]** Khandesh şehrinin teknil demirci çilingir esnafına İslamiyet'i kabul ettirmiştir. Kalküta, Bombay, Bengal gibi cesim şehirlerde telkin-i İslamiyet'e mahsus kürsüler müesses olup her gün edyan ve mezahib-i sairede bulunanlar hatta Avrupalılar akın akın gidip nur-ı diyanet-i Muhammediye'den istifaza ile ihtida edegelmektedir. İşte bu suretle Hindistan'ın daire-i ihtidası tevessü ve her sene elli binden altı yüz bine kadar can ihtida ederek bu son on sene zarfındaki muhtedilerin nüfusu uç milyonu tecavüz etmiştir.

[Sayfa 148] İngiltere idaresinnin İslamiyet'e bahşettiği şu menafi ve fevaid kalıp Müslimini tesliyet ve sürurlarla meşhun kıldığı gibi makam-ı hilafet-i kübrayı dahi minnet içinde bırakmıştır. Kadıasker Ahmet Hulusi Efendi merhumun riyaseti tahtında bir heyet-i sefaret bundan yirmi otuz sene evvel tertip olunarak Hindistan ve Afganistan'a izam olunmuştu. Bu heyet-i sefaretin memuriyeti gerek Hindistan'da gerek Afganistan'da bulunan umera ve ulema rüesa-yı İslamiye'ye makam-ı hilafet-i kübra ile İngiltere beyninde caygir olan münasebat-ı dostanenin derece-i samimiyetini ilamla beraber **[Sayfa 149]** alem-i İslamiyet'in İngiltere ile olan ittihaddan istihsal edeceği fevaidi tadad İngiltere rukabasının zuhuruna sa'y u gayret ettikleri ihtilafın umum İslamiyet ve ale'l-husus şark akvam-ı İslamiyesi için mucib-i felaket olacağını ispat eylemekten ibaret idi.

Hilafet-i İslamiye namına Asya akvam ve ümera-yı müslimesine icra edilen şu irşadat-ı diyanet-perverane ve vesaya-yı dur-endişane makam-ı hilafet-i kübranın İngiltere meslek-i siyasisi hakkındaki takdirat ve nazarıyatını tayin ve tasvir eylemiştir.

[Sayfa 150] O vakitten bu güne kadar olan vekayi-i kevnîye ve inkılabat-ı düvelîye ise bu takdiratın mahiyetini kat'iyen tağyir etmemiştir. Muvazene-i hazıra-i dünyayı ihlal ederek tasavvurat-ı istila-cuyaneye mukavemet eden kuvve-i garbiye yok hükmüne girmiştir. Meslek-i siyasisi ve şekl-i idare-i dahiliyesi itibariyle esaret düşmanı ve hürriyet harisi olmak iktiza eden Fransa istibdadın timsal-i mücessemi denilecek kadar müstebid olan bir devlete karşı zanu-zede-i temelluk olup akvam-ı şarkiyenin amal ve istiklalini fedaya ve hele unsur-ı İslamiye'nin cihet-i camiası olan kuvve-i hilafeti ref' u izaleye amade **[Sayfa 151]** olduğunu tereddüte mahal kalmayacak surette izhar etmiştir.

İngiltere'nin müstemlekatçe ve ale'l-husus Müslüman tebeası hakkındaki malumat ve nazariyatını tasvir ettikten sonra bunun mahiyet ve meziyetini zahire çıkarmak için sair Müslüman memalike malik olan devletlerin idare ve muamelesi ile mukayese edelim ve Afrika'nın en mühim İslam kıtasını teşkil eden Cezayir'deki Fransız idaresinden başlayalım:

Cezayir-i Garb Fransa idaresine geçeli tam yetmiş sene olmuştur. Bugün tam dört milyon nüfus-ı İslamiye mevcut **[Sayfa 152]** bulunduğu halde mütemmimi haline konulduğu Fransızların idaresince değil kendi memleketlerinin idaresince bile bir güne hakk-ı iştiraki olmadıktan başka dünyanın en adi bir idaresi tahtında bulunan bir kavmin nail olageldiği hukuk-i tasarrufiye ve şahsiyeye tamamıyla mazhar değildir.

Fransa milletinin ulviyet-i fikri, safvet-i vicdanı ve hak ve adl yolundaki hissiyat-ı samimiyetkaranesi münker değildir. Hatta Cezayir'in bidayet-i istilasında daha hiçbir yerde kilise yaptırılmamış iken müceddeden cami bina ettirmek hüccac kabilelerini meccanen **[Sayfa 153]** Hicaz'a götürüp getirmek, birçok ceraim ve isyanlara karşı af ve rıfkla muamele etmek gibi lütufların ibzali erbab-ı insafın hatır-nişanı olup daima lisan-ı şükranla yad olunur. Fakat çe fayda ki bu müessir fütüvvet bu iltizam-ı adalet pek az müddet sürüp idare başka nazariyata tatbik ve Cezayir Müslümanlarının hali diğer güne oldu. Ahali-i kadimeyi meziyat-ı diniyeden, kemalat-ı ilmiyeden tecrit, her türlü mal ve mülkten mahrum etmek yavaş yavaş sevhilden, şühur ve kasabattan çıkarıp dağlara sürmek, yerine Fransızları yerleştirmek, Cezayir'i Fransa toprağı **[Sayfa 154]** Hristiyan memleketi haline koymak esası üzerine idareye başlandı. Cezayir şehirleri istiladan sonra idare memurları tarafından işgal ve emlak, büyut ve emakin zapt ve gasb edildi. Cezayir kasabasının haricinde birçok bağçeler, tarlalar Arapların elinden alınıp, Fransızlara tevzi edildi. Hatta bunların çoğu yeni mutasarrufları tarafından idare ve imar olunamadığından eski ashabına icare ile verilmiş ve bu suretle Araplar mutasarruf iken müstecir haline girdi. Müslümanların hakk-ı tasarrufu idare-i keyfiyeye tabi olduğundan Cezayir idaresi her ne vakit araziye lüzum **[Sayfa 155]** görürse ashabını zorla memleketlerinden, mevallarından çıkarmayı emlak ve arazisini bir güne kaideye riayet etmeyerek ve bedel tahmininde mübalat göstermeyerek istediği gibi ellerinden alıp Fransızlara ve Fransız kolonilerine tefviz etmeyi mücaz görmüştür.

Cezayir’de istiladan evvel birçok cevami ve medaris ve imaret mevcut ve fûnun ve ulum tedris olunagelmekte iken Fransa idaresi bunların cümlesine ve vaz’-ı yed eyledi.

Evkaf varidatını zapt, müessesat-ı hayriyeyi seddettirdi. Bir aralık kütüb-i diniyeyi hükümet-i hazıranın teessüsüne, medeniyet-i **[Sayfa 156]** garbiyenin intişarına mani addıyla medaris ve mekatib-i İslamiye yerine İslam’a mahsus olarak Fransız mekatibi tesis ve ihdas etmiş ise de Cezayir ahali-i İslamiyesi’nin her türlü terakki ve temeddün kabiliyetinden mahrum olup kendilerini tenvir etmekten ise haiz oldukları envar-ı ilmiyeden dahi bütün bütün mahrum bırakmak ve kendi mülkünde ve toprağında oturtmaktan ise daire-i ikametinden yavaş yavaş sürüp yerlerine Avrupa unsurunu yerleştirmek ve kuvve-i cebriye ile daire-i itaatte bulundurmak suretlerini tercih ettiğinden bu mekatibi dahi ref’ ve dört milyon ahalinin **[Sayfa 157]** talim-i sıbyanı için senede yüz bin Frank gibi hasis bir miktarı tahsis etmekle iktifa eyledi. Hele koca Cezayir’de mukarrerat ve ilan-ı resmiyeye mahsus hükümet gazetesinden başka bir Arabi gazetenin bulunmaması şayan-ı dikkat ve hayrettir. İdare-i memleket bütün Fransa memurin-i askeriye ve mülkiyesi elinde bulunmakla beraber beldiye işlerine de müslüman ahali karıştırılmıyor. Müstakil devair-i belediye Fransızların mütemekkin oldukları şuhur ve kasabata mahsus olup Müslüman nüfusu ekseriyeti teşkil ettiği halde hakk-ı intihabları mahdud ve birtakım kuyudla mukayyedir. Mesela belediye azası **[Sayfa 158]** intihab edebilmek için bir Müslüman yirmi beş yaşından yukarı, iki seneden ziyade o şehirde ikametgah sahibi olmak ve devlet memuru ya Fransız nişanını haiz bulunmak lazım gelir. Bu müntahibler de belediye aza-yı mevcudesine nisbetle yalnız bir rub’unu intihab edebilir. Belediye reisi intihabında iştirak hakkından mahrumdur. Muhtelit belediyeler ise Fransa hükümeti tarafından tayin olunan memur-ı mahsus vasıtasıyla idare ediliyor.

Vilayat meclis-i umumi azası yalnız Fransızlardan intihab olunmuş sırf Fransız’dır. Her bir meclis-i umumide Cezayir valisi **[Sayfa 159]** tarafından tayin olunmuş altışar Müslüman aza mülazımı bulunuyorsa da meclis-i kebir-i vilayette hiçbir Müslüman aza bulundurulmuyor.

Cezayir’in kısm-ı küllisi hala idare-i askeriye tahtında bulundurulmakla beraber ahali-i kadime-i İslamiye dünyanın hiçbir tarafında efal-i memnuadan madud olmayan birtakım ahvalden dolayı taht-ı mesuliyet-ı şahsiye ya müctemiaya aldırılmış bir

kanun-ı mahsus hükmüne tabidir. Bu kanun hükmünce bir Müslüman davasını tekrar eder veya bidayaten ikame ettiği davada haksız çıkarsa hapis cezasıyla mahkum olur. Her nerede bir cürm vaki olsa faili zahire **[Sayfa 160]** çıkarılmadığı halde heyet-i müctemia mucrim addolunarak mesul olur... Ormanların ekserisini ihrak edenler Fransız kolonileri olup böyle bir harikin zuhurunda Müslümanlar itfaya can hakkıyla çalıştıkları halde de Fransız kolonileri mesuliyetten beri tutulup yalnız Müslümanlara tahmil-i mesuliyet edilir. Ve pek ağır cezalar ve tazminat-ı nakdiye heyet-i müctemiaya hükmettirilir. Fransa memurin-i mülkiyesi pek çok ahval ve hususattan dolayı re'sen Müslüman ahalisini mahkum kıldıkları gibi mevadd-ı cezaiye için Müslümandan hiçbir hakim olmadıktan başka **[Sayfa 161]** Yemenililer de kamilen Fransız'dır. Bunların ekseriyesi ise Müslümanlar aleyhine saika-i gayz u garazla müthiş surette ağır ve haksız hükümler verirler. Fransa erbab-ı insaf ve merhametin de musaddakı olan bu ahval Fransa idaresinde bulunan Müslümanların hakk-ı müsavat ve hürriyetten nasıl mahrum tutulduklarını tamamiyle ispata kafidir.

Rusya'nın İslav olmayan ve kendi din ve mezhebinde bulunmayan akvama karşı nasıl muamele ettiğini tarife bile hacet görmeyiz. Bununla beraber idare-i siyasisesi hakkındaki nazaryatı tebdil akvam-ı saire hakkındaki muamelatı **[Sayfa 162]** tadil olunmak lazım gelse mademki devr-i istilasının infilak-ı subhunda bulunup kuvvetini şimalden cenuba doğru yaydırıp yürütecektir matmah-ı nazar olan memalik-i vasia ve ebhar-ı mühimme-i cenubiyeye geçebilmek için mutlaka şark-ı şimali ile şark-ı cenubi beynindeki mıntika-i İslamiye'yi çiğnemeğe ve husul-i amalane muvaffak olur ise bu mıntıkayı terkip eden heyet ve akvam-ı İslamiye'nin istiklal-i idaresini ve hayat-ı siyasisesini ref' eylemeye mecbur bulunacaktır. Hindistan Rus kabza-i teshirine geçerse Rus liva-yı hakimiyeti Bahr-i Sefid ile, Bahr-i Ahmer ve Bahr-i Muhit-i Hindi'de temevvüc eder **[Sayfa 163]** ise Devlet-i Osmaniye'nin Devlet-i İraniye'nin ve Afgan'ın beka-yı istiklali ve atide başka bir heyet-i İslamiye'nin teşekkül ve kesb-i istiklal ve şan etmesi muhaldir. Hollandalılar ise müstemlekatındaki ahalinin terakkiyat ve islahatını kat'an nazar ehemmiyete almayıp koca iklimleri adeta hükümet mezraası ve miri çiftliği addedip içindeki milyonlarca ahaliyi ücretli amele gibi kullanırlar. Cava, Sumatra ahali-i İslamiyesi'ni hakk-ı tasarruftan ve serbesti-i bey' ve şiradan mahrum tutukları gibi muhtaç oldukları eşya ve havaic-i sairenin ekseriyesini devlet istediği **[Sayfa 164]** fiyata satıp başka kimsenin ithal ve fûruhtuna ve mahsulat-ı arziyesini de mesela tüccara kırk elli Florine satılacak bir mahsulu on

dört on beş Florin bedel ile ellerinden ellerinden alıp başka kimsenin iştirasına müsaade etmiyorlar.

İngiltere ile düvel-i sairenin müstemlekat idaresince ittihaz ettikleri usul ve mesleğin mukayesesinden şu hakikat istihrac olunur ki Asya'da ve dünyanın ekalim-i muhtelifesinde yalnız İngiltere kendi teali-i şanına ve insaniyetin husul-ı menfaatine hadim olacak teşebbüsat ve icraatta bulunabilir. İngiltere müstemlekat-ı **[Sayfa 165]** vasiyasını menfaat-cuyane bir suretle idare etmez, onları terbiye ve tarik-i selameti irae eder. Bu hakk-ı terbiyeyi öyle bir suret-i müşfikane ve dil-nevazanede ifa eder ki misli akvam-ı sairenin hiçbirisinin tarih-i amal ve efalinde görülmez. Kendi memurininin kuvvet ve nüfuzunu kuyud-ı ihtiyatiye ile tadil ve her hal ve mahalde istibdadı takyid ve her cins ve kavimden muktedir olanlara her memuriyete girmek hakkını temin eder: Kendi nezaret-i feyz-bahşası tahtında olarak her idare-i kavmiye tarik-i irtikayı küşade bulur. Her yerde mektepler tekessür, matbuat serbesti-i tam ile **[Sayfa 166]** intişar eder. Edyan-ı muhtelifeye karşı olan vaziyet ve muamelesi sırf bi-tarafane ve müsaadekaranedir.

İngiltere'nin şu teşebbüsat-ı medeniyet-bahşasının muvaffakiyatını temenni eylemek, insaniyetin ve medeniyetin irtikasını cidden temenni eylemektir. Böyle bir maksad-ı insaniyetkarane ve hürriyet-perveranenin husul-içün İngiltere'ye rabıta-i kalbiye ile merbut olmak ve ümid-i necatını onun himmet-i teali-perveranesine hasretmek mazlum milletler, terakki ve temeddün arzu-keşi olan kavimler ve ale'l-husus ehl-i İslam için bir vazifedir.

-Son-

Appendix IV. "The Transvaal Question from the Mussulman Point of View." *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. 69 (January, 1901), pp. 147-173.

THE TRANSVAAL QUESTION FROM THE MUSSUL-
MAN POINT OF VIEW.

INTRODUCTION.

I MAKE no accusations, I merely relate; I do not recriminate, I am justifying myself; I am not writing an autobiography, I am explaining the reasons for my voluntary exile.

Entering the service of the Imperial Government at an early age, and at the moment when our greatest statesmen undertook to carry out their broad, reformatory views, I have the misfortune of being one of their survivors, or rather a pupil of their school, which has suddenly and prematurely been closed. When the last and most courageous of the Turkish reformers disappeared, a victim of an unexpected and discreditable reaction, my fate was also decided. Carried away by the whirlwind which swept off everything that remained of our military and political institutions, and banished from the capital for seven years by the effects of one of those currents so frequent in political tempests, I was at last brought back, and suddenly found myself in presence of the Sultan Abdul-Hamid, my sovereign and master, whom I continued to venerate, notwithstanding the misfortunes that the country had just suffered on account of his disastrous reaction; events had made no change in the sentiments of fidelity which, as a matter of principle, I had vowed to his illustrious predecessors. My loyalty had always convinced me that the preservation of an Empire like ours depended upon a policy having for its basis the consolidation of the throne and the re-establishment of the prestige of the Sultan, who alone is capable of serving as a connecting link between so many different elements and of harmonising the unity of the government with the diversity of the administration.

I was so imbued with this opinion, formed upon moral and political considerations, that I had not hesitated to repudiate the idea of dethroning the late Sultan Abdul Aziz, which had been conceived by his Ministers, to whom I was bound by all sorts of ties, and, being in London in 1875, I took advantage of an interview that I had with Lord Derby at the Foreign Office to call the attention of the British Government to the necessity of preventing the deposition of this Sultan, by explaining to his lordship that England alone had sufficient authority to induce Abdul-Aziz to abandon a course which would inevitably bring about his downfall. The surviving members of that Cabinet, who, according to the assurance given me by Lord Derby,

would be informed concerning my observations, will doubtless remember them sufficiently well to attest the truth of my statement.

After my return to office I endeavoured, to the best of my ability, and with all desirable fidelity, to perform my duties as a functionary of the State and a servitor of the Sovereign. As long as I was listened to by His Majesty I frankly told him the whole truth about the deplorable condition of the country; I concealed none of the causes that would render the final catastrophe inevitable, and sooner than was believed, if His Majesty did not decide in time and without any subterfuges, to give another direction to the home and foreign policy of Turkey. I repeated to him upon several occasions that an Empire like ours, which, by its geographical position, its history and the origin of its peoples was so closely bound to the interests of civilisation and humanity, could only continue to exist under the sceptre of the Ottoman sultans on the sole condition of introducing reforms, and adopting such institutions as would satisfy the needs and aspirations of its subjects, and place the country in perfect harmony with the civilised States of Europe, of which it forms a part.

One of the points upon which I most strongly insisted with the Sultan, was the urgent necessity of once more placing the policy of the Sublime Porte in unison with that of Great Britain, and of re-establishing, upon the former friendly basis, our relations with this Power, whose support has preserved the existence of the Empire, and without which it will be impossible for us to ward off the mortal blows which are aimed at us by enemies within, as well as by those outside, both ready to utilise the elements of dissolution that we ourselves have created during the past quarter of a century.

My views were expressed with all the courage and energy prompted by my patriotism and the gravity of the subject, and made an impression even upon the most resolute representatives of the Palace; they hesitated about openly attacking me, but they concocted the most infamous plots against me in the dark. It was all over with me—I saw it myself. I experienced, nevertheless, the lively satisfaction of having aided, however little, in the formation of a new current of ideas. Those who formerly did not dare even to mention the word *reform* for fear of being considered conspirators, and treated as such, began to speak out concerning the absolute necessity of administrative reforms, and of a renewal of amity with England, the real friend of Turkey, of Islam, and the Orient.

This truth had gradually spread throughout the popular classes of Turkey when the Transvaal War broke out and the first reverses of the Queen's army provoked on the part of the civilised nations of Europe an astonishing enthusiasm in favour of the Boers, as well as the most violent criticisms, and even invectives, against England. It was then that the Turkish people became conscious of their political situation

and of their debt of gratitude to the English nation. Without paying heed to official orders, they manifested with as much sincerity as nobleness their sympathy for the great country whose kindness they could never forget. Dignitaries, military men, men of letters, pupils, softas, ulemas, tradesmen, working-men, in short, everyone without exception, thought of nothing else than this war, of which the difficulties, designedly magnified by the European press and the representatives of the Palace, had become for our people a real subject of uneasiness.

I had just prepared a short historical study of the Transvaal question, in which I faithfully interpreted the sentiments of the Mussulmans in general, and the Ottomans in particular, towards England. I read this little work to some politicians, who thought that it would be opportune to organise a Mussulman deputation to Her Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople, to present in the name of the Ottoman people an address of sympathy and of the unalterable gratitude of the Turks to England for her services in the civilisation of the Orient.

This demonstration was the signal for the unanimous expression of Turkish sympathies, and at the same time it spread alarm in high places. Out of respect for the Sultan and for my own dignity I prefer to say nothing with regard to what took place between His Majesty and myself on the occasion of this movement, of which he considered me the promoter and organiser. Moreover, it is well known what happened: the most prominent members of the deputation were for the most part exiled, and my official position became untenable. A few weeks later I was appointed Governor-General of Tripoli, with salary and authority exceptional; as the price of my banishment I was accorded honours and rewards. If I thought only of my personal interests I could not complain, but as a patriot I found myself confronted by this dilemma: either to set out for my new post and there be stifled under the weight of rank and emoluments, or to exile myself in order to live as a free man. I decided on this latter course, and, after having respectfully given my resignation and the reasons thereof to His Majesty the Sultan, I quitted my country to live in exile, and for the past six months I have breathed the air of liberty in foreign lands, at the same time preserving my respect for my Sovereign, and finding in my love for my country (a solace for my expatriation) a consolation at being removed from it.

My pamphlet on the Transvaal will make known the views and appreciations of the Turks and Mussulman people as to their future and their relations with the English, who for more than three centuries have pursued the noble and humanitarian task of the gradual regeneration of the Orient.

From the time when England began to raise herself from an humble

position to the highest place among Colonial Powers, the English have been in contact with the Turks, and an intuitive impulse, so to speak, established between the two nations such sincere and candid relations that the other Powers became jealous. The reply of the Grand Vizier Siman Pacha to Pezen, the Austrian Ambassador, who bitterly complained, is very characteristic: "The English," said Siman Pacha, "are so nearly like us that all they need, in order to become real Mahometans, is to acknowledge the *Chehadet*," (a formula of the Mussulman creed).

These relations once established were gradually strengthened by the interest shown by Great Britain towards Turkey during three centuries in consequence of the expansion and development of her commerce in Asia. We Ottomans, without distinction of race or religion, have, in the long run, identified our interests with those of England, to the point even of believing it impossible for us to exist politically unless we constantly march in accord with her and maintain between the two countries a still closer union than that generally implied by the word alliance. We are absolutely convinced of the truth that by her aid we can exist, and that without her we should disappear.

We have not only the same interests, we have also a common enemy who threatens us to the same degree, and this is the principal and decisive point. Every blow at England's prestige is a loss for us, while the disappearance of our authority in the Orient would bring about the decline of the British Empire. Whoever should wish to effectively attack England would be obliged to begin by passing over the corpse of Turkey. The day that the Muscovite flag floated over the walls of Constantinople would be doubly fatal, because it would mark at the same time the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the decline of England, and the cessation of the grand task which England has undertaken in civilising an entire world, and delivering it from the yoke of barbarity and superstition. The moment the right foot of the Russian Colossus is planted on the shores of the Bosphorus the Asiatic continent will be at her mercy. The disappearance of the Caliphate or its reduction to the rank of a sort of Mussulman oecumenical patriarchate, under the temporal authority of the Tzar, would be the signal for a general uprising of all the Mahometan peoples, which Russia would direct, without prejudice, to crushing it as soon as she had carried out her ends.

This, according to us, is what is in preparation; this is the dismal perspective disclosed by each forward step of Russia, and concerning which we cannot think without trembling. I do not at all fear being taken for an imaginative monster by a certain category of Englishmen who, because of their neglect in attentively examining things, would consent to see the British Empire shorn of a part of its power, and would accept the idea of an England reduced to "a nest of swans upon a great pond."

Furthermore, the facts show that nations have always been forced, as though in obedience to a natural law, from north to south. The Russians, like the Gerghis-Khan and Baber hordes of past ages, have a tendency to invade by land the countries that the English have reached and occupied by sea; the only difference is that the Russians advance systematically, methodically, utilising everything that military art and modern science place at man's disposal for the destruction of his fellow-men, for the subjugation of the weak and the enslavement of the genius of races. It is the march of a formidable mass which, from the Black Sea to the Yellow Sea, advances slowly but surely, so as never to be obliged to recede.

There are two things that have escaped every man's notice; and that the genius of Lord Palmerston alone perceived in the first half of this century. The first is that the Caucasus and the Black Sea are Russia's two bases of action for dominating the world; and next, the possession of the Caucasus gives her the means for conquering the rest. Situated as it is, and with the organisation that has been introduced, it can serve for a simultaneous attack upon Turkey by the North, and upon India by the East. This impregnable fortress of the Caucasus in Russia's hands, and this immense arsenal in which her maritime power is now being created, constitute the knot of the two questions of Constantinople and India, which, being connected, can only be untied the one by the other.

Railway lines of a length that frighten human imagination connect St. Petersburg on one side with Port Arthur, and on the other with the most populous districts of Central Asia and the principal passes of the route to India. The three dominating points of the Indian frontier are occupied by Russian detachments which, with native cavalry as auxiliaries, are ready to throw themselves without any scruple on India under the banner of fire and blood. Herat, the real key of the route to India, is 50 miles from the last Russian military post and almost within their reach, while it is no more than 435 miles from Tehaman, the last station of the advance posts of the English army.

All these circumstances would be as nothing if the struggle between the two adversaries were to remain confined to the battle-field; but the misfortune is that the gradual offensive movements of the Russians, which Rawlinson rightly compares "to the operation of the establishment of parallels around a besieged fortress," act upon the imagination of the Asiatic peoples, diminish England's prestige and shake their confidence in her superiority. The effects of this moral force are all the more important, as the material means appear to be out of proportion with the task to be accomplished.

The marvellous results that have been obtained, thanks to the wisdom and intrepidity of the ruling statesmen, to the bravery and discipline of an army composed of a small number of English

soldiers led by heroes, to the devotion, courage, and ability, supported by an unshaken integrity, of the officials and English magistrates, are undoubtedly precious titles to gratitude on the part of the natives, who ought, without distinction, to unite for the maintenance of English administration; it would, however, be rash to completely rely upon them. Human nature is very far from appreciating the general good to which all private interests should be subordinate; and besides, when there is an agitation coming from without and bringing with it subversive ideas, we must admit that far from considering the benefits accruing to the country as a whole, each class and each fraction would seek in what way its interests were affected. This is certainly a great trump in the game of this Colossus who aims at replacing "Greater Britain" by "Greater Russia."

The maintenance of the Grand Turk, much more than the overthrow of the Grand Mogul, demonstrates England's power to Asiatic eyes; the Asiatics now begin to discuss this power and to wonder whether Russia will really succeed in conquering the world.

In presence of such a situation we Turks, with a clear consciousness of the danger threatening our country and all the Orient, impose upon ourselves the task of guiding all the Mussulman peoples of Asia, of grouping them in view of the struggle in favour of England, whose cause is their cause as well as that of civilisation, and of convincing them of the fact that in acting otherwise they would effect their own destruction. On her side, England ought to look the danger in the face, and, with her characteristic courage and tenacity, accept a struggle that has become inevitable, and the issue of which will decide her destiny and that of humanity.

The confidence that her traditional policy and long services inspire among all Ottomans, Mussulmans as well as Christians, the rights conferred on her by the Cyprus Convention, and the position she occupies in Egypt, are so many reasons for England's boldly undertaking the humanitarian and civilising work of reforming our Empire. The day that Turkey, rid of an abominable system of government that despotism alone maintains for its own preservation, and that Mussulmans abhor more than Christians, shall have been rendered fit to satisfy all moral and social interests, a renewal of the horrors of which our country is, unfortunately, so often the scene, will be impossible; the universal equilibrium will be established upon a solid basis, and the possibility of an attack against British possessions and colonies will be destroyed. A Turkey, whose institutions and guarantees (that she would give to her various peoples) should be as strong as her army, would offer, among other advantages, that of sparing Great Britain the necessity of indefinitely increasing her fleet to guard against naval combinations aimed at English supremacy upon the sea, beginning with the Mediterranean. If Herat is the key to India, Constantinople remains, whatever may be said, the key to the whole.

world. To fortify the two States that hold these keys is at once to place the English possessions for all time beyond the reach of attacks upon land and sea.

I.

The war that England has undertaken in the Transvaal has from the very beginning attracted the attention and aroused the interest of the Eastern peoples in general and the Mussulman population in particular. They consider the English race, on account of its religious beliefs, political doctrines, commercial aptitudes, and, still more by its geographical position and its Colonial possessions, as a sort of motive power and inspiring authority created by God for the revival of Oriental civilisation and the regeneration of the Mussulman world.

Since the day when the English people threw off the Papal yoke, severed the infernal chains of the Spanish Inquisition, and thus gave liberty to millions of human beings, they have sought to make more intimate their relations with the Mussulman people, and in the course of three long centuries have not lost sight for a single moment of this object, which is one of the most important aims of British policy.

By establishing at Constantinople the seat of the Caliphate and of their States, and fixing the governmental mechanism of their Empire upon that tripod formed by the largest of their European, Asiatic, and African provinces, the Ottoman Sultans had so completely unsettled the equilibrium of the world that all the Eastern Sovereigns, considering themselves threatened by the new order of things, leagued themselves together, as in a last crusade, against the Ottomans, in whom they saw, above all, dangerous propagators of Islamism in Europe. Between the defeat at Lepanto, which marked the end of their victorious march and opened the era of their decline, and the catastrophe of Navarino, Christianity has twice risen up against Turkey with the single aim of crushing the Empire and Islamism with it.

The first time it was Henry IV.—that King of France, whom the aid given by the Sultans had helped to assure the political existence of his kingdom, and whom the Ottoman naval forces that for a long while were placed under his orders, had effectively seconded in his efforts to rid himself of his enemies—who proposed the formation of a Christian League under the name of the Christian Republic, the armies of which were to drive back the Empire into the deserts of Asia. If Henry IV.'s project which was purely an act of ingratitude that was not justified even by the special interests of France, was not carried out, it is much less on account of Ravallac's stab than because of Queen Elizabeth's refusal to join the league.

The second time it was Alexander I., who, by the famous Holy Alliance, pursued the same end, and if this Alliance had no fatal consequences for Turkey it was still because the Regent, George of Hanover, declined to give his signature to such a treaty.

The historical facts and the liberal and humane conduct by which benefited the seventy millions of Mussulmans placed under the direct control or under the political protection of Great Britain have created towards that

country a real debt of gratitude on the part of all Mahometans scattered throughout the world, and assured to her sympathies as sincere as the wishes which always accompany her everywhere, even in her smallest enterprises. As for us Ottomans, nothing that concerns England's greatness could be indifferent to us, and when we see her sustain a struggle upon any point of the globe we take pleasure in remembering that the English have poured out their blood and mingled it with that of our own soldiers for the defence of our dear country and the sacred rights of our Empire. It is such recollections that permit us to look back with pride upon the past and to regard with security the future, to which these souvenirs open such boundless prospects.

II.

The courage and perseverance shown by the Boers at the beginning of the war have called forth admiration from everybody; and those who are irritated at England's greatness, those above all who expect their national evolution to follow as a result of her decline, have not hesitated to send their good wishes to the little people, whose successes would have been the preface to this decay. For ourselves, we will not even consider the approaching end of this great nation who, in taking upon herself the education and government of hundreds of millions of subjects or of souls under her protection and in showing to humanity the real route to progress, has succeeded in constituting the vastest Empire that has thus far existed. Therefore, we will confine ourselves to treating the question raised by the Transvaal War from the single point of view of the interest of the civilisation of Islam.

At the very moment when Europe believed herself delivered from Mussulman domination by the fall, more rapid each day, of the Arabian Empire in Spain, and when the people of the East thought they might rejoice at this event, Mahomet the Conqueror scattered terror among them by taking Constantinople, the hearth-stone of Christian civilisation, and one of the two seats of the spiritual authority of Christianity.

All the sovereigns and rulers, with the Pope at their head, thought only of finding the means of barring the way to this new Islamic invasion. John II., of Portugal, was not the least ardent leader in this work. He at once began to clear the Barbary coast of Mussulmans, and at the same time to hunt up enemies against them in the interior of Africa, and even in the most distant countries of Asia.

At that epoch the inhabitants of East India believed in a Pontifical King, and the stories told by the Portuguese Admirals returning from their discoveries on the eastern coast of Africa, not less than the details brought by messengers from Benin, opportunely confirmed this legend. According to these stories there was at twenty moons' march from Benin a grand Sovereign who, because of his temporal and spiritual power, was considered as the head of all the chiefs and sovereigns of Africa, to whom he sent, upon their accession, a sceptre, a crown and a cross as a sign of their investiture. John II. saw in this last emblem a proof that there was in Africa a Christian Prince who must be the famous Priest John, with whom he had for a long time desired to be in relation.

He therefore organized, in 1486, an expedition under command of Bartholomew Diaz, to discover the kingdom and capital of this Pontiff. It is this expedition, the aim of which was to procure the means for destroying Islam, that, after having called at Benin in the course of a long and eventful voyage, reached the cape which forms the summit of the African triangle. Wearied, however, by the trials of navigation, and discouraged by the savage aspect of the country, the expedition turned back. But King John, who was dissatisfied with this result, did not abandon his project; he changed the name of "Cape Stormy," given by Diaz to the country he had discovered, to that of Cape of Good Hope, and organized a new expedition under command of the celebrated Vasco de Gama, who was not able, however, to set out until ten years later, and at that period Priest John was already dead.

Vasco de Gama, after a stormy voyage, finally cleared the Cape, and continuing his way towards the North-East, was the first to discover the country that he named Natal. Then he called along the coast already discovered and occupied by the Arabs, and, guided by their pilots who knew the route to India, reached that country and thus opened the great maritime way between the West and the East. Although very important from a geographical point of view, the Cape remained unoccupied for more than a century and a half. European navigators had frequently landed there. The English had even taken temporary possession of the country in 1620 in the name of King James I., but they all retired after a short stay, and the Dutch were then the first who afterwards definitively established themselves there.

The Netherlands East India Company opened a branch-house at the Cape, and in 1652 sent out a detachment of a hundred soldiers who had just been mustered out of the regular army. This band, as soon as it landed, constructed a small stone fort as well as some barracks upon the very spot where now stands the splendid city of Cape Town, and then began to drive off the natives and to steal their wives, children and cattle. Two years later some hundreds of orphan girls were sent out to them from Amsterdam, and the number of these first colonists has been progressively increased by the immigration of adventurers from all quarters, and by French Protestant families who fled from the persecutions practised upon them in France. As these early colonists gave themselves up entirely to hunting the savages and wild beasts, the Dutch Government transported to the Cape several cargoes of negroes who were to till the soil, as well as several thousands of prominent Mussulmans from the Sunda Islands, whom the European population forced to perform the hardest labour and of whom in reality, they made slaves.

The Boers, who had thus become the executioners of the coloured race and the ravagers of the country, were imbued with the fanatical ideas of another age, and their cruelty was certainly increased by the feeling that they were forever separated from the mother country. Totally ignorant, their only moral support was the Bible, which some of them could read, but they interpreted it literally as if it had been expressly written for them. They believed that it was permitted to shed blood and to confiscate the property of whosoever was not a follower of their religion, whether he were a native or a foreigner, Malay, Pagan, or Mussulman; to take the children

of their victims and make them their slaves was, in their way of thinking, a pious act. During one hundred and fifty years of such misdeeds, all the tribes of this part of South Africa and more than a million of its inhabitants had been destroyed. As for the Mussulman Malays, who, in their own home had possessed servants and been accustomed to live well, they were reduced to slavery, and those who had not disappeared under this tyrannical treatment, preserved barely the name of their origin and their religion.

III.

It is only by a miracle that this part of Africa, of which the Boers had made a cemetery and a hell, was rescued from their destructive hands, and it is England who accomplished this miracle. With a view of assuring her communications with India and of protecting her fleets that cover all oceans, she had for a long time considered the problem of the occupation of the Cape; and even in 1780 a fleet had started to take possession of the country, when a French squadron attacked it and afterwards reinforced the Dutch garrison.

But some years later, a change having taken place in the foreign policy of France, that country seized Holland, whose possessions she had formerly defended. This act gave England the chance to lay hands upon the Cape, where the Boers had risen in revolt. The retrocession to the Batavian Republic had been, it is true, stipulated in the treaty of Amiens, but this clause was never effected, and the treaty of Vienna having recognized Great Britain's right of possession of the country, it has remained an English colony since 1795.

Naturally, one of the first acts of the new administration was to put a stop to the detestable conduct of the Boers, and individual liberty was, as far as possible, granted to the Mussulman Malays and natives, who had been deprived of all their rights and treated as beasts of burden.

The Boers, powerful by their numerical superiority, received with disdain the reforms made by the new masters of the country; but, on the one hand, the increasing number of immigrants coming from England, and on the other the return of all those who had taken to the high mountains to escape the vexatious treatment exercised by the Boers, as well as the good will of the Malays, attracted by the humanity shown by the English, gave to the British administration the means of making itself obeyed and of obtaining, at least for a while, the submission of the Boers to the new state of things. Nevertheless, the discontent of the latter was great, and they only awaited a chance openly to show their displeasure. They unwillingly accepted a just government, which had for its aim social, religious and political equality. They were thoroughly exasperated by the Parliamentary act that emancipated the slaves in all British possessions and their purchase for the sum of twenty million pounds. Finding themselves suddenly deprived by this measure—which will be an eternal honour for England—of the labour of an entire population with whom they would henceforth be obliged to live upon an equal footing, they nearly all preferred to emigrate further north with their property and herds. They crossed the Orange River and went to lead a nomadic life on the plains they had traversed during their previous incursions. They chose as their leader Peter Retief,

who governed them paternally and kept them far from the territory occupied by the Kaffirs. Rejoined by English official messengers, who warned them that wherever they might settle they would always be considered as subjects of the Queen, they advanced still further north, and some of them went as far as the Drakenberg chain. There they entered into relations with Dingan, the Zulu chief, who assigned them land on the other slope of the mountain; but suspecting their ambitious designs, he attacked them while showing them the land allotted and murdered a large number of them. The survivors were, however, able to establish themselves in the same region, and in time becoming the stronger, they replaced Dingan by his brother, who was their friend, and then constituted the Republic of Natal. England could not tolerate the existence of an independent State upon that coast, and shortly afterwards destroyed it, the Boers having refused to submit peacefully.

The most obstinate among them, rather than accept a government that puts the blacks upon the same level as the whites and considered it a duty to distribute impartially the benefits of civilisation, preferred to cross the Vaal River under the command of Hendreick Pot Keyter, and went as far as the Kachan or Magalisberg mountains; but this district was already occupied by the Matabele chief, Moussilé Katzé, whom they forcibly compelled to settle on the other side of the Limpopo. It was only after this victory that the Boers became masters of the country, the inhabitants of which, exhausted by the rough treatment received from the Matabeles, at first received them as liberators, but soon had reason to repent of the welcome given to their conquerors, who carried off their wives, children, and cattle.

Africa appeared to the Boers, whose exclusive reading was the bible, as a sort of Promised Land, and its inhabitants as specially created to be their slaves. Whoever sought to civilise and convert the negroes to Christianity, whether he was a missionary or a trader of English birth or other origin, became an object of suspicion, and was sure to experience their hostility.

The illustrious Livingstone himself was thwarted in the task he had undertaken with so much abnegation. The teachers whom he had trained in his school at Colemborg were welcomed everywhere except in the Transvaal, where the benefits of the most rudimentary instruction had been denied the negroes. Hendreick, upon whom he called for the purpose of having this prohibition removed, cynically replied that all that was necessary to teach the negroes was that they were born to be the slaves of white men.

IV.

England, as we have just seen, considered the abolition of slavery and the development of commerce as the only efficacious means of introducing civilisation into Africa, while the Boers, faithful to their customs and the exclusive principles of their Constitution, put all possible obstacles in the way of this policy. Placed between two alternatives, either totally to suppress a government opposed to progressive ideas, or to try and reform it, she preferred to adopt the latter plan, which at that moment offered the advantage of freeing her from all concern in that quarter, and of giving her full liberty of action in Eastern affairs, which were soon to lead to the

Crimean War. The Vaal was declared to be the Northern limit of her possessions in South Africa, and all inhabitants on the other side of that boundary were released from their oath of allegiance to the Queen's Government. The Transvaal Republic was recognized by a Convention signed in 1852 by the Governor of the Cape and by a representative of President Pretorius, and the Orange Colony was at the same time permitted to constitute itself as a Free State, under the formal condition of abolishing slavery.

Henceforth the Boers had only a single obligation to fulfil in order to be independent, that of not practising the slave trade and not hampering commerce. It seems that this was asking too much of them, for they soon failed to keep their engagement. When the Convention of 1852 was under discussion President Pretorius's delegate asked the English Governor what was to be done about the missionaries. Sir George Cathcart jokingly replied: "You may do what you please with them." This response was taken seriously, and scarcely a few months after having signed the agreement, President Pretorius, interpreting the refusal to allow the Bechuanas to import fire-arms as giving him the right to molest them with impunity, invaded their territory, destroyed the city of Coleberg, and the school founded by Livingstone, and exterminated a part of the population. The surviving women and children were reduced to slavery. When Livingstone returned from Caruna he found everything in ruins, and the books which the savages had respected were torn and scattered about, while more than 200 of his pupils had been carried off by the Boers. He has described the lamentations of the children and their parents, and among other incidents told how Tsetsele's child, whom, at his mother's entreaties he had reclaimed, was returned by his kidnappers with two ribs burned and bearing other marks of torture inflicted upon him.

Assured of their independence, secure against all intervention by England, the Boers became more and more arrogant, and believing themselves invested with the mission of allowing only those who would bend beneath their yoke to live in Africa, they undertook to drive away the neighbouring tribes, destroyed one after another all the missionary institutions, and even went so far as to expel the English traders who wished to establish business relations with the northern colonies. Their oppressive conduct reached such a point that while England was at war with Russia for the defence of Turkey, they attempted to aid the Russians, whom they believed had taken up arms for the deliverance of the Holy Land and the destruction of the Mussulmans (enemies of their religion) and of their mortal foe the English, who were the allies of these same Mussulmans. A few days' march sufficed to discourage these fanatics who had improvised themselves as Russia's friend, and the single result of this new freak of the Boers was the discovery of a river that was taken for the Nile, and that still bears this name.

At this point Pretorius, the David of the Boers, died, and his son, Pretorius II., was unanimously elected as his successor. Although a man of very limited capacities, he was, on account of being his father's son, also raised to the Presidency of the Orange Free State, but he held this office only a short time.

In 1867 the diamond mines were discovered in Griqualand, and the two republics, allured by the riches which until then had remained unsuspected in that country, did not hesitate to claim it and, notwithstanding the protests of Waterboer, the Griquas Chief, they sent governors to take possession of the mines. But the miners were mostly Englishmen, and the Griquas refusing to recognise the authority of the Boers, the Governor of the Cape proceeded thence and settled the matter by annexing to Cape Colony a territory that had long been considered as forming part of the Crown's domains.

The President of the Orange Free State, who went to London for the purpose, was fortunate enough to obtain a large indemnity. As for the President of the Transvaal, who had not followed his colleague's example, he fell out of favour with his countrymen, and was replaced by Francis Burgher. The new supreme executive, who was a Dutchman of considerable merit, at once saw the necessity of spreading knowledge among his compatriots and facilitating communication throughout the country. His first act, therefore, was to go to Europe and make the arrangement to which is due the construction of the railway from Delagoa Bay to Pretoria. But, upon his return to the Cape, he found himself confronted with difficulties that obliged him to relinquish his office.

During President Burgher's absence in Europe Mr. Kruger had undermined the position of that official by all sorts of intrigues, and in addition, Sococos, Chief of a great tribe, having renewed his pretensions to the territories occupied by the Boers, a war broke out and finally ended in the utter defeat of the latter. Happily for the Boers, the English Government, fearing that the success of the natives might imperil not only the existence of the Transvaal but also that of all the white inhabitants of Africa, intervened at the right moment and sent out a Commissioner, Theophilus Shepstone, who entered Pretoria, unfurled the English flag, and took possession of the country in the Queen's name, with the consent of the inhabitants of the town and in accord with Mr. Kruger himself.

It is incontestable that England's intervention saved the country from the natives; but the salvation of the Boers once made certain, they began, little by little, to show their discontent, and at the close of three years this discontent ended in open revolt. The Governor of Natal, Sir George Colley, was ordered to put down this rebellion. He marched with a slender force against the Boers and defeated them at Lang's Neck. Then, receiving a small reinforcement, he again attacked them at Majuba Hill, where they had strongly entrenched themselves. There the English were completely routed, and Sir George Colley paid for his imprudence with the loss of his life. This disaster produced great commotion in England. General Wood had already landed at Durban, and was preparing to avenge this defeat when Mr. Gladstone, in one of his customary magnanimous movements, preferred to show moderation than to employ force, and sent out the despatch which has since become famous: "We have wronged the Boers. Make peace."

It thus happened that in 1881 the Transvaal Republic was recognised, but under the express condition of the suzerainty of England, with the right of her Government to intervene in certain internal affairs of the country.

In 1884 Mr. Kruger went to London in company with the General-in-Chief and the Minister of Public Instruction, and there concluded with the English Government a new agreement whereby the complete independence of the Transvaal Republic was acknowledged; but Clause IV. of this convention forbade the President to make any treaty with any foreign Power whatever, or with any of the native Chiefs without first obtaining the consent of the Crown. The Orange Free State was not included in this clause. It is the interpretation of this arrangement, constituting the public law of the Transvaal, which has been the cause of subsequent difficulties, and finally brought on the existing war.

V.

Before explaining the present situation, we believe it will be of interest to give some details concerning the social condition and administrative system of the Boers.

Averse to social life on account of their rude and mistrustful character, the Boers lead the existence of a peasant or a shepherd wherever they establish themselves. Each head of a family possesses a large extent of land called a *plaats*, which contains not less than three thousand *morgens*, in the centre of which they erect a habitation, or rather a fort, capable of sheltering their family, their slaves and their cattle. This isolated life renders impossible the propagation of civilisation or instruction, and until recently most of the Boers wrapped themselves in animals' hides, and not being able to read the Sacred Writings, contented themselves with looking at the pictures by which these books are illustrated. Their towns are only large villages, and not one of the Boers that inhabit them is engaged in business or works at a trade. It is only in the Orange Free State and the parts of the Transvaal bordering thereon that the natives are allowed to settle; in the rest of the country they can only live in common when they belong to different tribes, and even in this case they must periodically change their residence. The negro, wherever he may be, can neither own land, carry arms, nor enjoy civil and political rights; he is not only prohibited from living under the same roof with the white people, but he is not even allowed to inhabit the same district; he cannot work a mine on his own account, and he is forbidden to receive the pay for his labour in gold and to carry it upon his person, under penalty of the *bastinado* and imprisonment.

The Chinese, the Hindoos, and the Mussulmans were submitted to the same treatment, and to work at any trade whatever they were first obliged to obtain a permit, which cost them twenty-five pounds.

The form of the government is Republican. The President is elected for five years by universal suffrage. Two Chambers of twenty-nine members each, under the name of the *Volkstraad*, constitute the legislative power; the President, the Vice-President, who is also Commander of the Military Forces, and four Ministers form the executive power. At the beginning naturalisation was easily obtained by the white people, but after the discovery of the mines they increased so largely that, in order to protect themselves against the predominance of foreigners, and especially of the English, the Boers rendered the adoption of citizenship as difficult as possible.

This so-called Republic, which for the past nineteen years has been in the hands of Mr. Kruger, recognises the rights of man only to those who have white skins, civil rights solely to those who belong to the same religious profession as the Boers, and political rights exclusively to those of their own race. The insistence of England, the party principally interested in South African affairs, for the abolition of these religious and ethnic distinctions, and the continuous refusal of the Boers, have led to the present conflict.

If the Transvaal Boers and the Orange Free State Burghers had been content to occupy themselves with farming and cattle raising, there would have been no contest, England being mistress of all the surrounding countries with the exception of the northern portion of the Transvaal, which belongs to Portugal, and her railways encompassing the two States on all sides, thus controlling all the communications. But, the entire commerce of the two Republics being in the hands of the English, the interests of the Boers obliges them to follow the example of their Cape kindred and become in their turn the instruments of England for the extension of her influence and her civilization in Africa.

Nature, in addition to an extraordinary fertility, has gifted the Boer lands with a really marvellous mineral richness. The surface covered by the Transvaal is nearly 500,000 square miles, and a third of this expanse is a mining basin that constitutes an inexhaustible treasure. The working of these gold runs has developed to such an extent during the past sixteen years that the value of the ore extracted in the year previous to the breaking out of the war exceeded seventeen million pounds. Such unheard-of riches has augmented the economic and political importance of the country, and the attraction produced upon man by gold has drawn thither a crowd of fortune-seekers from all parts of the world.

Before the discovery of the mines the white population was not more than 70,000; to-day it exceeds 300,000. The State revenues have increased from £170,000 to £4,000,000, and the resources of the treasury have grown to such proportions that whereas formerly it was difficult to find a gold piece elsewhere, the Transvaal Republic found in its revenues the means of procuring the formidable armaments that have enabled it to cope with a Power like England. Sixteen years ago the total imports and exports amounted to a million; to-day the general trade exceeds £30,000,000, a total surpassing that of Turkey's commerce. We must not forget that this extraordinarily rich country belongs to these Boers who, formerly subjects of the Queen, renounced her government, impeded English expansion in every way, and believed that they were performing a religious duty in showing themselves hostile to the civilizing policy of England.

We must also not lose sight of the fact that the value of this mining wealth is represented by shares held by London capitalists, and that the directors of the companies are Englishmen. Four-fifths of the Uitlanders, who form half of the white population, are likewise English subjects.

Under such conditions could England abandon to the care of an arbitrary and retrograde government several billions of her public fortune and so many thousands of her subjects who had been the first to turn to account the sub-soil of a territory the surface of which alone had thus far been worked by the Boers?

Such, in brief, are the principal causes of the differences that have brought on the war.

It was essential for England that her views of expansion on the African continent, already thwarted by the backward tendencies of the Boers, should not meet with any further obstacles in the economic and political development on the part of the young Republic; all the more so, as England was obliged to take into account the striking effect that the slightest weakness shown by her would have upon her relations with her subjects in Cape Colony, all of the same blood as the Boers, and who, at the first favourable opportunity, would have aided their kindred to raise the question of the abandonment of Africa by one of the two rival races.

VI.

It is not our intention to examine the rights conferred by the treaties upon which England bases her claims; we do not wish, moreover, to consider whether the measures she has taken are sufficient for the defence of her interests, which are always identical with those of liberty and civilization. England is the most resolute and faithful champion of liberalism in the world; she recognises everywhere and to everybody their right to enjoy the benefits of a government that is enlightened and a friend of progress and justice; wherever she meets tyranny she is ready to combat it, and an oppressed people is always sure of her sympathy and protection.

Undoubtedly, these admirable proclivities of the English people are not wholly due to their humanitarian sentiments. The United Kingdom, which is a sort of floating manufactory working for the entire universe, is unceasingly obliged to increase its customers, who become more numerous as the wants created by civilization are multiplied. Unlike other conquerors, England does not seek to add to her own wealth by exhausting the countries she annexes; on the contrary, she makes sacrifices in order to create well-being, and strives to consolidate her own greatness by the prosperity of others. In any case, we believe that she all the more merits the confidence of peoples, as she plainly shows that she is not the only one to profit by the good-will she displays towards them.

The English aim in Africa at the extension of the benefits of a civilized government to all the inhabitants; their claims against the Boers have no other end than the establishment of an administration that will assure to the blacks as well as to the whites, to foreigners as well as to the Queen's subjects, the same rights as those enjoyed by the Afrikanders of all races in Cape Colony. Furthermore, the manner in which England has governed the countries placed under her direct authority in Africa confer upon her the right of wishing to introduce into the South African Republics a method of government that has been tried and, in less than a century, has transformed a savage country into a prosperous colony, possessing in the same degree as the European States all the advantages of Western civilization.

VII.

The Mussulmans of these countries are certainly not among those who have benefited the least by such a government. First of all, measures were taken to have their mosques and communal institutions respected; and

M. de Roubais, Justice of the Peace at Cape Town, so well protected Mussulman interests that in a short time their community occupied an excellent situation among the other communities. The Crimean war had strengthened the sincere friendship already existing between England and Turkey, and the Cape Mussulmans were quite able to appreciate the value of the understanding between their Government and the Caliphate. They seized this opportunity to send to Abdul Medjid, their spiritual chief and the friend and ally of their Queen, an address expressing their gratitude for the benefits showered upon them, and for the services continually rendered them by M. de Roubais.

The Sultan Abdul Medjid, fully appreciating their services, sent M. de Roubais a rich present, with the expression of his thanks, and the prestige of this official became still greater in the Colony, as he himself redoubled his zealous efforts. The Afrikanders, prompted by spite and old grudges, openly annoyed him and prevented his election to the Lower Chamber, but he entered the Upper House at a bye-election in spite of these intrigues.

England did not content herself with merely strengthening the Sultan's political powers; she also sought every opportunity to render more brilliant his prestige as spiritual head in the eyes of the whole Mussulman world. At about that epoch she influenced the sending out from Constantinople of a man capable of instructing the Cape Mussulmans in the dogma of their faith, and recognised M. de Roubais as Consul-General of Turkey, that gentleman continuing to sit as a member of the Cape Parliament.

At the accession of the Sultan Abdul Aziz, M. de Roubais went to Constantinople and explained to the Sublime Porte the situation of the Mussulman community and solicited the means for rendering it still better. Thanks to the enlightened mind of Fuad Pacha and Ali Pacha, who were then Ministers, all his requests were granted, and he received from the Sultan a large sum for the erection of a mosque at Port Elizabeth.

All these noble efforts, united to the instruction given by the Hodja Bekir Effendi, morally and materially elevated the Cape Mussulmans and placed them in a very enviable position. Moreover, the impartiality shown by the English was such that the Afrikanders, having opposed the granting to the Mussulmans of a part of the subvention accorded to the schools for the religious instruction of the pupils, under the pretext that the money was destined for the Christian schools alone, care was taken to prevent a like injustice to the Mussulmans, who received full satisfaction on this point. The English administration even went further and prompted the adoption of an amendment whereby the oath taken by members of Parliament was modified so as to enable the Mussulmans to be elected the same as all other citizens.

It is unnecessary to add that owing to these specially favourable conditions the prosperity of the Mussulman community continued to increase, and that the Islamitic propaganda is carried on freely and with the greatest success among the native population of South Africa.

In the preceding narrative we have not pretended to establish the moral superiority of one of the two forces engaged in the conflict on the tablelands of South Africa. Our design has been merely to demonstrate that England's triumph in that country would facilitate the progress of civilisa-

tion among the coloured inhabitants and guarantee the present and future interest of the world in general and particularly of the Mussulman world. To express a wish favourable to the Boers would be equivalent to desiring that a whole continent should be eternally kept in ignorance and barbarism, that the forward march of humanity should be retarded, and that those who profess the Mussulman faith should be deprived of the indispensable guarantees of their evolution.

VIII.

With these truths before our eyes we cannot help regretting the judgments and criticisms expressed upon the Transvaal question among the public as well as in official circles; they can be explained, we believe, by a jealous sentiment inspired by England's creation of an immense empire, which she has preserved and developed by the admirable system of government she has devised, and which her formidable maritime power is capable of defending upon all points of the globe.

Indifferent to political combinations formed around and against her, Great Britain has once more seen during this South African war the hesitation of her rivals to try their strength with her; but the signs of a wish to enter upon the struggle have not been wanting, and she might at certain moments have believed the time near at hand when she would be obliged to defend herself against the Power that aims at universal domination. This contest is inevitable, and it will decide the fate of the Orient; either the East will become enlightened and civilised, or the servitude and darkness that weighs upon her will be prolonged.

Will the Orientals, and especially the inhabitants, mostly Mussulmans, of the zone where will occur the first shock of the struggle between these two forces composed of such dissimilar elements, look on unmoved when they are the principal stake at issue?

Mussulmans and Ottomans should seriously consider the eventuality of this contest, foresee the consequences according to which side wins the day, and be prepared to support the one whose tendencies and political principles best coincide with their religious and national interests. The bounden duty of the Ottoman Empire, more than that of any other nationality, is to come to a decision on this question, as her geographical position makes her a sort of representative between the Orient and the Occident of modern civilisation, which she has definitely adopted, and because of the prestige given to her by the title borne by her Sovereign as protector of Islam and guardian of the Caliphate.

It is essential, therefore, to examine from a Turkish point of view the particular conditions of the four States that have interests in the countries where there are Mahometan populations, namely, England, Russia, France, and Holland.

IX.

England, protected, as she has been, both by her own strength and by geographical position, from all external aggression, has been able to acquire important possessions far from her shores—possessions beyond the reach of any other Power. Knowing that, in India, the Mussulman element

alone could raise a claim to sovereign rights, and that the Ottoman Empire alone offers a possible base for any attack directed against her Indian possessions, England has for the last hundred years recognised the importance of Turkey, as well as the expediency of strengthening her and of obtaining her friendship. Our political history during this century plainly shows that England has been constantly guided by this point of view.

It is England that foiled the first Napoleon's expedition to Egypt by destroying the French fleet at Aboukir; and, when France profited by the annihilation of the Sultan's naval forces at Navarin to take possession of Algeria, and to drive Mehemet Ali into revolt by holding out to him the hope of occupying the throne at Constantinople, it is England that succeeded in uniting Europe against the Pacha of Egypt and his protector, that preserved Turkey from the dangers involved in the Treaty of Hunkiar-Iskelessi, and caused the integrity of her territory to be acknowledged in the Treaty of London by all the Powers, including France and Russia. Undoubtedly, Russia was also opposed to the advance of Mehemet Ali, but the motive of her opposition was not so much the fear of seeing the fall of the Empire of the Osmanlis, as the desire to prevent what she considered as a decayed body from being vivified by the fresh blood that would have been infused into it by the Egyptian conqueror. If a proof of this were needed, it would be found in the displeasure shown by Russia at the era of progress and prosperity begun by the Tanzimat, and in her decision to make Turkey her vassal, or to crush her, when she sent Mentchikoff on his famous mission to the Sultan, and at the same time tried to gain England's good-will by offering her Egypt and Crete.

Firm in their resolution to sustain and build up the Ottoman Empire, the English did not hesitate to reject the offers made by Nicholas I., and protesting by the temper of Napoleon III., who could not admit that France should be deprived of her time-honoured rights upon the Holy Land, and who desired to annul the clauses of the Treaty of Vienna opposed to the re-establishment of the Napoleonic dynasty, concluded with him the fruitful alliance which ended in the Crimean War and the Treaty of Paris, the clauses of which confirmed the integrity of Turkey and her admission into the European concert, at the same time that they rendered impossible for a long while the project of making the Black Sea a Russian lake. This result, however satisfactory it might be, would have been still greater if England's project of continuing the war until she had torn from Russia the Caucasus and the Crimea had not been thwarted by the Emperor Napoleon. That Sovereign, who was constantly guided in his conduct by dynastic considerations, and the need of increasing his prestige, was inclined at the very beginning of hostilities to come to an understanding with Russia, and he was only prevented from so doing by England's energetic attitude.

The versatility of the French Emperor was so great that even before the ink had dried upon his signature ratifying the treaty of peace that effaced the traces of French blood poured out upon the battle-field for the preservation of Turkey's independence, he proposed to the English Cabinet the annexation of Tunis, with Tripoli and its dependencies to Piedmont, of Morocco to France and of Egypt to England.

Lord Palmerston categorically refused to entertain such a proposal, and

directed Lord Cowley, the English Ambassador, through Lord Clarendon, the first Plenipotentiary at the Congress of Paris, to at once explain to the Emperor that "more than one country—Italy, Spain and Sicily, for example—would be prosperous if it were united to France, England or Piedmont; but what constituted the validity of the understanding between France and England was not so much the co-operation of their fleets as the effect produced by this understanding, which showed to the world that it was based upon moral laws, and had for aim resistance to unjust aggressions, the liberation of the oppressed from the hands of their oppressors, and the preservation of the political equilibrium of the States. Ought we, then, to renew the proceedings employed by others for the partition of Poland? And if so, what right could be invoked by France and England for seizing the Sultan's African possessions when they had just defended the integrity of his Empire?"

X.

Russia had left to France the responsibility of diminishing the importance of the Treaty of Paris; but the vacillation of Napoleon III., who could not, in spite of everything, make up his mind to sacrifice the advantages of all sorts that he would gather from his friendly relations with Great Britain, and having no hope of advantage on the other side, obliged the Russian Government to count only upon its own means. Russia, therefore, undertook to paralyse the efforts of the Ottoman administration in the application of the reforms and improvements that she wished to realise; she attacked with diplomatic notes the edifice that the Anglo-French Alliance had strengthened, and finally succeeded in causing, first, an uprising of the Greeks in Crete, and later of the Slaves in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In each one of these questions England used all her influence in our favour, and, to speak only of the second one, it is to her that we owe the rejection of the Andrassy Note and the famous Berlin Memorandum. If her friendly action did not succeed in sparing us the consequences of the uprising of the Slavonic populations that had been prepared so long beforehand, it was owing to the general state of Europe and because of the impossibility to sustain our cause by her arms at the moment when the deplorable events in Bulgaria provoked such strong indignation, and thus facilitated the destructive work of Russian policy. All that England could do under the circumstances was to urge upon the Sublime Porte the immediate adoption of measures best calculated to heal the wounds caused by the rash policy adopted in home affairs after the death of Ali Pacha and to quiet public opinion in Europe. Even when she saw that certain grievous errors nullified the effect of the general reforms that had just been promulgated—in contradiction, it is true, with the propositions of the Powers, but the liberalism of which should have secured for them the sympathy of the different peoples—she did not lose courage, and still found the means for preserving Turkey, then condemned to isolation, from the total annihilation by which she was threatened.

History will never be able to explain why we so thoughtlessly rushed into a war, which was sure to be fatal to us, when the reiterated declarations of the British Government that it would not take part in the struggle

should have been sufficient to dissuade us, and which the acceptance of the London Protocol enabled us so easily to avoid. We tremble in thinking of what would have happened if England, before and even during the hostilities, had not succeeded in rendering impossible the disappearance of Turkey as a result of this war.

Anxious to secure the neutrality of the English, Russia pledged herself by the most solemn declarations of her Sovereign and her Government not to take possession of Constantinople, not to touch Egypt, the valley of the Euphrates, or Bassora; she even formally promised that, in case Turkey should sue for peace before the passage of the Balkans by the Russian troops, she would at once grant it, and upon conditions certainly less onerous than those that we had to accept. Our Government failed to take advantage of this situation, but the Turks themselves are aware that it is England's attitude which created this situation, just as they are convinced that if the San Stefano Treaty has not been executed they owe it uniquely to the presence in the waters of Constantinople of her fleet, with its guns pointed at the Russians encamped in the neighbourhood.

After having kept Russia out of the Bosphorus, England aided the establishment in Turkey in Europe of a state of affairs in conformity with the general interest, and also gave her attention to the future of our Asiatic provinces, which were still at the mercy of Russia. She made an agreement with the Sublime Porte by which she bound herself to defend us against all future aggression on condition that we should introduce radical reforms in the provinces to the profit of all the inhabitants, and cede to her the island of Cyprus, which would continue to remain under the sovereignty of the Sultan, to enable him to hold his army and navy ready near the coasts of Asia Minor. This sacrifice has not yet produced the benefit we expected from it, but the agreement in question contains, according to the opinion of all Ottomans, such a precious pledge for the extirpation of the abuses suffered by them, and for the re-establishment of the former close relations with England, that they continue to hold to it as to a sheet-anchor.

XI.

We will now consider the question, so vital for Islam, of the formation of the friendly relations between England and Turkey.

From the day when England saw the importance for her of the political existence of the Ottoman Empire, from the day when Lord Chatham declared that "he considered as a lunatic anyone who denied this importance, and refused to speak to him," she has not ceased to concentrate her whole attention upon the two great centres of the Turkish possessions—Egypt and the Straits.

The opening of the Suez Canal, by increasing the already great value of Egypt, could only add to the interest the English had in maintaining the Sovereign rights of the Sultan over this country; and England, who had done so much to restore Mehemet Ali as Governor-General, and who had consented to the hereditary succession of this function in the Pacha's family only on condition that he and his successors would conform to the fundamental laws of the Empire, and remain faithful to the Ottoman

throne, was also the first to signalise the danger of the privileges accorded later on with such culpable thoughtlessness, and which, by changing the order of succession, might lead to national autonomy.

When France, almost on the morrow of the Berlin Congress, decided to occupy Tunis, threatening the Sublime Porte with another Navarin if it attempted to defend its rights upon this province, thus betraying by this act of spoliation her desire for domination upon the African coasts, England was obliged to pay serious attention to this question. Her vigilance became still greater shortly afterwards, when the revolt of Arabi broke out, a revolt rendered exceptionally serious by the relative weakness of Turkey, who had just emerged from a disastrous war and who was in the midst of a financial crisis. From the first moment, however, she considered that the employment of the Ottoman forces was the surest means of putting down the insurrection, while France emphatically rejected all direct action by the Porte in Egypt. But the English Cabinet would have probably triumphed over the unwillingness of the French to permit the landing even of a single Turkish soldier in Egypt if the hesitations of the Suzerain Court and the diplomatic negotiations to which these hesitations gave rise had not, by causing the loss of much valuable time, encouraged the hopes of the leaders of the rebellion to such an extent that England was obliged to quell the insurrection herself; for the French squadron, which had been manœuvring in company with the British Fleet along the Egyptian shores, quitted her associate at the decisive moment of the bombardment of Alexandria. Following close upon this event the Conference assembled at Constantinople decided to request the Porte to send troops to re-establish order in the province and thus accomplish its duty as the sovereign power. Although this decision was taken unanimously it came out plainly, in the course of the debate raised in the Chamber of Deputies, that what France wanted was to abolish all sovereignty of the Sultan in Africa, and to destroy the influence exercised by the Caliphate over the Mussulmans on that continent. The following passage from the speech made by Gambetta on that occasion is a sufficient proof of this assertion :—

“The Conference will send Turkish troops. I believe this to be the worst kind of a solution. There was, in my opinion, a point upon which no concession should have been made, namely the question of Turkish intervention. To bring back the Turk to the foot of the Pyramids is to play with fire in Algeria and Tunis. To place the Turk under the French flag is to say to all the Orient that the Caliph has become your master ; it is to abolish in a single day fifty years of our policy. Fifty years ; but I am mistaken, for France does not date from a century. It is the abandonment of her traditional policy on the borders of the Nile. I will vote you this money to try these adventures ; but if ever the Sultan again becomes master of Egypt, perhaps in agreement with our rivals who are disposed to aid him, remember, gentlemen—I ask nothing better than to be in error—that if, unfortunately, I should see the regular battalions of the Sultan and Caliph return to the foot of the El-Ahzar mosque, I firmly believe that you could say farewell to all your dreams of restoration and reconstitution of the French colony in Egypt.”

French hostility towards Turkey and the intrigues of those whose interest

it was to trouble our friendly relations with England, have been the cause of the blunders committed by us since the beginning of this Egyptian question. This explains only too well the end pursued by French diplomacy when it insisted so strongly at Constantinople for the rejection of the Drummond Wolff Convention, which was already signed and approved by the Queen, and dispenses us from further comment. Besides, the faults that were not avoided and the responsibilities that were incurred in this Egyptian business will form the subject of another pamphlet, which will be issued later on.

The more Egypt is necessary to the existence of a Mussulman State and to the authority of the Caliphate, the more the harmony between this State and England is indispensable. To suppose that the presence of the English at Cairo is a sufficient reason for justifying the present condition of our relations with them, would be a real misfortune for Islam and for Turkey. We hope, on the contrary, and are even persuaded, that the accidental and passing circumstances which have changed the understanding into a discord will soon be modified so as to allow the renewal in a solid fashion of the ties that ought never to have been loosened. Egypt has been occupied by English soldiers for the past eighteen years, and the Queen's Government has exercised an absolute supervision over the Khedival administration; yet the situation of the latter to the Caliphate and its dependence upon the Empire remain intact. The Khedive's authority is freely exercised, and in addition the progress is such that this friendly interference, which has a legal character by virtue of the capitulations, and which was more rigorous there than elsewhere in the Levant, tends to disappear. The bases of a constitutional government in conformity with the prescription of the Koran, "Deliberate upon your affairs," and without which no Mussulman State can prosper or even exist, are already begun. The moral laws, civil rights and individual liberty, which the Mahometan law no less than Western civilization demand, are in full force there. Furthermore, the facts prove that the liberty of the press exists there as well as freedom of thought and speech, and that they can advantageously exist in the Orient and in Mussulman countries. Certainly the regrets and the complaints of the Mussulman press, and notably those of the editor of the *Al Muayad*, are worthy of sympathy, but we may be permitted to remark that these sincere cries are a valuable indication of the entire freedom left to those who utter them to judge and criticise everything in their country.

Undoubtedly, the principal motive for England's intervention in Egypt and the services she renders to the progress of its people is the development of her trade and the protection of her maritime routes. But, on the other hand, the advantages she there finds from this point of view are so largely compensated by those that we ourselves owe to her, that a closer understanding with her would be a real benefit for the Islamitic world and the surest of guarantees for the existence of the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, we ought not to forget that it is wearing the fez and preceded by the crescent that the English march forward for the extension of Egyptian territory, or, what amounts to the same thing, Ottoman territory, and the permanent re-attachment of the Sudan, this essentially Mahometan country in Africa.

XII.

At this point of our study we believe it will be useful to cast a rapid glance at the just and humane manner in which the English govern their colonies and possessions.

To consider only India, it will be enough to recall the admirable words of wisdom, equity, and foresight used by Lord Derby half a century ago at the time of the transfer of the administration of this vast country from the hands of the East India Company to those of the Queen's Government, in order to understand the spirit by which England is animated towards the populations placed under her sceptre. "I know," said the illustrious Minister, "that the Indian races are not yet ripe for European institutions. But what I admit is that we are obliged, in the interest of humanity, of morality and religion, to promise them at once a participation in the administration of their country as far as it is possible and prudent to do so. I am convinced that these peoples, subject to the supervision of the authorities and under the guarantees of the English law, will eventually appreciate, imitate, and perhaps one day surpass our laws. If, by the gradual possession of the right to take part in their local affairs, they extended their aspirations and claimed political rights; if, I say, their aspirations should reach the point of causing the fall of our formidable Empire of India, the fact that we had succeeded in delivering an entire nation from the yoke of barbarism and superstition and of teaching them respect for law and the manner of administering it, would be enough to make us proud of our efforts, and the people of India would be grateful to us."

This liberal and civilizing programme has been followed ever since without the least deviation. The Home Government proves by its acts that it feels responsible not only for the material well-being, but also for the moral and intellectual development of the numerous populations of that immense country. To raise up the native of India to a full sense of his dignity as a man, to accustom him to govern himself in his commune, to introduce him into the courts, to gradually prepare him for the highest administrative functions and thus render him apt to one day take part in the direction of the important affairs of his country, is the mission which the English Government in India has allotted to itself and which it fulfils with an activity equal to its generosity.

Lord Ripon, one of the most distinguished among the Viceroy's of India, a man of liberal mind and broad views, esteemed that it was not enough for the English to derive a benefit from the possession of the vast peninsula; the inhabitants, he said, should learn to do without England. And, with this idea, he created the germ of self-government which is expanding, and which may be distinguished by the following traits:

At the lowest step of the administrative ladder the rural agglomeration, or village, has been allowed to preserve its special character, with its arbitral tribunal, particular customs, undivided property, inn, priest, accountant, and guard. Upon this ancient institution Lord Ripon superposed a new organisation, consisting of Local Boards, or cantonal councils, and District Boards, or county and provincial councils. These Local Boards are, for the

most part, elective bodies, and nominate a notable proportion of the members who sit in the higher assemblies. The native element is becoming stronger every day, and more than a thousand towns have thus far received municipal institutions. The principle of elective representation has entered even the Legislative Council of the Viceroy and of the Governors of Bombay and Madras.

If the local administrations have not yet afforded any appreciable results, the deliberations of the Congress, which meets every two years in one of the large cities of India, have been on the contrary, from the very first, keenly elucidated by the discussions in the press. This movement is not due to Governmental action. Some progressive Englishmen, who are friends of India, rejoice at this result, and see in this Congress the "awakening of India," the beginning of a new national life and a great force that is working not for the dissolution but for the consolidation of the Empire."

This Congress, which consists of from six hundred to twelve hundred members, discusses several questions, and after hearing two or three of its most influential members votes its resolutions.

If a useful reform has been introduced during the year, it is received by a collective expression of approbation; if a questionable law has been placed on the Statute Book it is discussed and amended. Old grievances are examined and new needs pointed out. The Congress, furthermore, makes a rapid examination of all the social and political problems that interest the whole of India: administration, works of public utility, taxation, education, health laws, poor relief, industrial and commercial legislation and measures to reduce famine, to circumscribe the plague, and to extend well-being to education and liberty.

Under this liberal government the Islamitic religion itself is propagated with prodigious facility and rapidity. Mussulman merchants and artists teach the Mahometan faith to their apprentices and to their colleagues, and the Cheiks and Hadjis do the same in the markets and in the public places. A certain Hadji Mohammed succeeded in two years in converting two hundred thousand Hindoos.

Kazi Nasrabad Safder Ali has converted the whole corporation of locksmiths at Kandesh. At Calcutta, Bombay, Benkialur, and in other important towns, there are special pulpits for the preaching of Islamism, and the preachers draw a multitude of listeners, among whom are many Europeans. The number of converts gained during the past ten years exceeds three millions.

These favourable conditions for the propagation of the Islamitic faith in India rejoice the heart of the Mussulmans of all countries, and to show its recognition the Caliphate, some thirty years ago, sent to India and Afghanistan a special Embassy under Ke Kadiasker Ahmet Houloussi Effendi, for the purpose of making known to the notabilities, Chiefs and Ulemas, the friendly relations that existed between the Commander of the Faithful and England, and to show them that the Mussulman world would have everything to gain by maintaining these relations and would lose a great deal if they should become weakened by the intrigues of those whose interest it was to disturb them.

England's friendship was thus fully appreciated and with profound political sense by the Caliphate. Subsequent events and the present predominating influence in Turkey cannot lessen the force of this appreciation, which is just at all times, and which should be the invariable guide to our conduct.

The difficulties formerly raised by Western Europe against the ambitious aims of a great Power that threatened the general equilibrium, are, at the present moment, considerably lessened, if not entirely overcome. France, whose institutions and form of government should make her the protectress of liberty and the enemy of despotism, has, to some extent, become submitted to this Power, which is the incarnation of tyranny; she seems ready to sacrifice to this Power the independence of the peoples of the Orient, Mussulmans as well as Christians, she whom these peoples loved to consider as being animated with the desire of assuring to them this liberty of which she has so long been the apostle. She does all that she can to strengthen the suspicion that she desires the destruction of the Caliphate itself, this common bond uniting all Mussulmans.

In order to have a correct idea of the value of English colonial administration, particularly in Mussulman countries, it is useful to compare it with that of some of the other great States; in this way we shall readily see the superiority of the English system over that applied, for example, by France in the most important Mussulman country of Africa.

France has been in possession of Algeria for seventy years, and yet the four millions of Mussulmans of that country, which in fact is French territory, not only do not enjoy political rights, but are excluded from all participation in local government; the central and municipal administration is solely confided to native Frenchmen, to foreigners and to the native Israelites who have become naturalised; but these constitute a feeble minority.

The Mussulman majority is so utterly deprived of all rights that not one of its members has a seat in the General Councils; six assistant councillors, appointed by the Governor-General, are alone admitted with consulting voice.

The French authorities dispose of the land according to their will, and expropriate without any legal proceedings or any indemnity fixed by judicial procedure. How many estates have, in this way, been torn from the Arabs to be given to Frenchmen who, unable to cultivate them themselves, have let them out to the natives, who have thus become lessees of their own property! The draconian provisions of the native code are still in force, and the greater part of the country continues to be under military rule.

We are far from denying the innate sentiments of justice and humanity that characterise the noble French nation, and we are here happy to render homage to the generous and tolerant spirit which marked the first years of the occupation of Algeria; the Mahometans everywhere gratefully recall that France then had mosques constructed even before building churches; that pilgrims were each year transported at Government expense to the Hedjaz; that the rebels whose hands were red with French blood were treated with the most admirable magnanimity. But the remembrance of these acts of kindness renders all the more painful the changes that have

taken place in the treatment by France of the native Algerians; we suffer to a greater degree in seeing the charitable institutions formerly directed by the Arabs, such as hospitals, schools, and the rest, reduced to penury because the revenues once consecrated to them have been diverted from their original purpose. How can we fail to deplore the suppression of the Arab schools and the substitution of French schools, which have in their turn been partly closed, and to be moved to indignation by the fact that a population of four millions has, for its educational needs, only a modest subsidy of one hundred thousand francs, which is given annually by the French Government? With the exception of the Arab journal devoted to official matters, no other newspaper can be published in that language. The reason for this is that the French seem to have made up their mind that instead of enlightening the native it is better to extinguish the little light he possesses; and in French governmental councils the idea prevails and has been distinctly expressed that the Arab has fallen to the last stage of depravity and vice, and that the Mahometan faith is an obstacle to the expansion of civilisation. Consequently, it is useless to try to attach the Arab to the soil, but rather to gradually supplant him by the European, and in the meanwhile to keep him by force in submission and obedience.

The considerations and general ideas that we have just submitted have shown, we believe, the liberalism that has animated England in her relations with the peoples of all races and religion that she has governed—and more particularly with the Mussulman peoples—and the striking contrasts presented by her methods when compared with those of other nations exercising a similar control over countries they have annexed.

It would consequently be idle to wish to add anything to this demonstration by describing in detail the administration of Holland and Russia in the countries where they have established themselves. We shall have said enough in recalling that the first holds her colonial populations, which are almost all Mussulmans, under the intolerable yoke of a State monopoly engrossing the product of their labour. As for the second, even admitting that she should modify her proceedings towards her heterodox populations, the necessity of continually advancing in her invading march from the North to the South, to reach the countries and seas that she covets, will inevitably oblige her to crush the purely Mahometan peoples established in the regions separating her from these countries, and to suppress their independence.

If India should one day pass under Muscovite domination, and the Russian flag float upon the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean, it would be the end of the Ottoman Empire, of Persia, and Afghanistan; and the reconstitution of a Mussulman State would become an impossible dream.

In conclusion, we repeat that the true friends of civilisation ought to wish for the success of the gigantic effort of England in Asia and on the other continents, and that oppressed peoples, especially the Mussulmans, in their desire to arrive at their full moral and political development, should place in her all their hopes of preservation.

ISMAIL KEMAL BEY.

Appendix V. *La Question du Transvaal ou le Role Civilisateur de l'Angleterre Juge au Point de vue Musulman.* Bruxelles: A. Vromant, 1901.

HOOVER INSTITUTION

LA QUESTION DU TRANSVAAL

ou

LE ROLE CIVILISATEUR DE L'ANGLETERRE

LA QUESTION
DU
TRANSVAAL

OU
LE RÔLE CIVILISATEUR DE L'ANGLETERRE

JUGÉ AU POINT DE VUE MUSULMAN

PAR

ISMAÏL KÉMAL BEY

TRADUIT DU TURC

ET PRÉCÉDÉ D'UNE INTRODUCTION DE L'AUTEUR

PRIX : 2 FRANCS

A. VROMANT & C^o, IMPRIMEURS-ÉDITEURS

BRUXELLES
Rue de la Chapelle, 3

PARIS
Rue Saint-Placide, 46

1901

Pv

INTRODUCTION

Je n'accuse pas, je raconte ; je ne récrimine pas, je me justifie ; je ne fais pas une autobiographie, j'explique les causes de mon exil volontaire.

Entré au service du Gouvernement impérial jeune et au moment où nos plus grands hommes d'Etat entreprenaient d'appliquer leurs vues larges et réformatrices, j'ai le malheur d'être un de leurs survivants ou plutôt un élève de leur école brusquement et prématurément fermée. Quand disparut le dernier et le plus courageux des réformateurs de la Turquie, tombé victime d'une réaction inattendue et sans nom, mon sort aussi fut décidé. Entraîné par le tourbillon qui balaya tout ce qui restait debout de nos institutions militaires et politiques, et éloigné, pendant sept ans, de la capitale, par l'effet d'un de ces courants si fréquents dans les tempêtes politiques, j'y fus enfin ramené et me trouvai tout à coup en présence du sultan Abdul-Hamid, de mon souverain et maître que je continuais à vénérer, malgré les malheurs que le pays venait de subir par suite de sa néfaste réaction ; les événements n'avaient rien changé aux sentiments de fidélité que, par principe, j'avais voués à ses illustres prédécesseurs. Mon loyalisme m'avait, de tout temps, communiqué la con-

viction que le salut d'un empire comme le nôtre dépendait d'une politique qui aurait pour base la consolidation du trône et le relèvement du prestige du souverain, seul capable de servir de trait d'union entre tant d'éléments différents et de concilier l'unité dans le gouvernement avec la diversité dans l'administration.

J'étais si pénétré de cette opinion, puisée dans des considérations d'ordre moral et politique, que je n'avais pas hésité à répudier l'idée qu'avaient conçue les ministres de feu le sultan Abdul-Aziz, avec lesquels j'étais lié par toute sorte d'attachements, de le renverser, et, me trouvant à Londres en 1875, je profitai d'une entrevue avec lord Derby, au Foreign Office, pour attirer l'attention du Gouvernement britannique sur la nécessité de prévenir la déposition de ce sultan en expliquant à Sa Seigneurie que l'Angleterre seule avait assez d'autorité pour faire en sorte qu'Abdul-Aziz se départît de la voie qui amènerait fatalement sa chute.

Les membres survivants du Cabinet d'alors, lesquels, d'après l'assurance de lord Derby, devaient être informés de mes observations, s'en souviennent sans doute assez pour attester ma véracité.

Depuis ma rentrée en fonctions, je me suis acquitté de mon mieux et avec toute la fidélité désirable de mes devoirs de serviteur de l'Etat et du souverain. Aussi longtemps que j'ai pu me faire entendre de Sa Majesté, je lui ai dit, sans ambages, toute la vérité sur la situation déplorable du pays ; je ne lui ai dissimulé aucune des causes qui devaient rendre inévitable, et plus proche qu'en ne croyait, la catastrophe finale, si Sa Majesté ne se décidait,

sans perte de temps, sans détour, à imprimer une autre direction à la politique intérieure et extérieure de la Turquie. Je lui ai répété à plusieurs reprises qu'un empire comme le nôtre, qui, par sa position géographique, l'histoire et l'origine de ses peuples, touchait de si près aux intérêts de la civilisation et de l'humanité, ne saurait vivre encore sous le sceptre des sultans ottomans qu'à cette condition unique de se réformer et de se doter d'institutions de nature à satisfaire les besoins et les aspirations de ses sujets et qui le mettraient en parfaite harmonie avec les états civilisés de l'Europe dont il fait partie.

Un des points sur lesquels j'insistai le plus auprès du Sultan, ce fut l'urgence de faire graviter de nouveau la politique de la Sublime Porte dans l'orbite de la Grande-Bretagne et de rétablir sur le pied amical d'autrefois nos relations avec cette puissance dont l'appui a valu l'existence à l'Empire et sans laquelle il nous sera impossible de parer aux coups mortels que nous préparent les ennemis du dedans comme ceux du dehors, prêts à utiliser les éléments de dissolution que nous-mêmes avons créés pendant ce dernier quart de siècle.

Mes vues, exposées avec tout le courage et l'énergie que me dictaient mon patriotisme et la gravité du sujet, agissaient même sur les plus hardis parmi les agents du palais ; on reculait devant toute action ouverte sur ma personne, mais on n'en ourdissait pas moins contre moi, dans la coulisse, les intrigues les plus infâmes. C'en était fait, je le voyais, de ma situation personnelle ; j'éprouvais, toutefois, la vive satisfaction d'avoir contribué tant soit peu à la for-

mation d'un nouveau courant d'idées. Ceux-là mêmes qui n'osaient pas auparavant proférer le mot de réforme, par crainte de passer pour conspirateurs et d'être traités comme tels, commençaient à parler tout haut de la nécessité absolue de réformes administratives et du rapprochement avec l'Angleterre, la vraie amie de la Turquie, de l'Islam et de l'Orient.

Cette vérité s'était répandue, comme une tache d'huile, sur toutes les couches populaires de la Turquie, lorsque la guerre du Transvaal éclata et que les premiers revers de l'armée de la Reine provoquèrent un étourdissant enthousiasme pour les Boërs et les plus violentes critiques, voire même des invectives, contre l'Angleterre de la part des nations civilisées de l'Europe.

C'est à ce moment que le peuple turc reprit conscience de sa situation politique et de son devoir de reconnaissance envers la nation anglaise ; sans tenir aucun compte de la consigne, il manifesta, avec autant de sincérité que de dignité, sa sympathie envers le grand pays dont il ne saurait oublier les bienfaits. Dignitaires, militaires, hommes de lettres, élèves des écoles, softas, ulémas, commerçants, ouvriers, tous sans exception ne se préoccupèrent plus que de cette guerre dont les difficultés, grossies à dessein par la presse européenne et les agents du pouvoir, étaient devenues pour notre public un objet de véritable inquiétude.

Je venais de préparer un petit travail contenant l'historique de la question du Transvaal et interprétant fidèlement les sentiments, envers les Anglais, des musulmans en général et plus particulièrement des Ottomans ; j'en donnai lecture à quelques publi-

cistes qui jugèrent opportun d'organiser une députation musulmane pour se rendre à l'ambassade de Sa Majesté la Reine à Constantinople et présenter, au nom du peuple ottoman, une adresse de sympathie et d'inaltérable gratitude des Turcs envers l'Angleterre pour ses services à la civilisation de l'Orient.

Cette manifestation donna le signal de l'expression unanime des sympathies turques en même temps qu'elle jeta l'alarme en haut lieu. Par égard pour le Sultan, et par dignité personnelle, je préfère ne rien dire sur ce qui se passa entre Sa Majesté et moi à l'occasion de ce mouvement dont elle me considérait comme le promoteur et l'organisateur. On sait d'ailleurs ce qui arriva : les membres les plus marquants de la députation furent pour la plupart exilés, ma position officielle devint intenable. Quelques semaines plus tard, je fus nommé gouverneur général de la Tripolitaine, avec appointements et pouvoirs extraordinaires ; comme prix de mon éloignement, on m'accordait honneurs et gratifications ; je ne pouvais pas m'en plaindre, si je ne regardais que mon intérêt personnel ; mais, en tant que patriote, je me trouvais placé en face de ce dilemme : rejoindre mon nouveau poste pour y être étouffé sous le poids des grades et des émoluments ou m'exiler pour vivre en homme libre. Je me suis arrêté à ce dernier parti, et, après avoir soumis respectueusement ma démission et mes raisons à Sa Majesté le Sultan, j'ai pris le chemin de l'exil et je respire avec bonheur depuis six mois à l'étranger l'air de la liberté, tout en conservant le respect pour mon souverain, et en puisant, dans mon amour même pour mon pays, une consolation de m'en trouver éloigné.

Mon opuscule sur le Transvaal fera connaître les vues et les appréciations des Turcs et du monde musulman sur leur avenir et sur leurs relations avec le peuple anglais qui depuis plus de trois siècles assume la tâche noble et humanitaire de la régénération graduelle de l'Orient.

Dès l'époque où l'Angleterre commença à s'élever d'une position humble à la primauté parmi les puissances coloniales, les Anglais se mirent en contact avec les Turcs et une impulsion, pour ainsi dire intuitive, établit entre les deux peuples des relations si sincères et si franches que les autres puissances en devinrent jalouses ; la réponse du grand vizir Sinan Pacha à Pezen, ambassadeur d'Autriche, qui s'en plaignait amèrement, est très caractéristique : « Les Anglais, dit Sinan Pacha, sont si proches à nous qu'il ne leur manque que de confesser le *Chéhadet* (formule du credo musulman) pour devenir de vrais mahométans ».

Cette entente, une fois établie, ne fit que se raffermir grâce à l'intérêt que la Grande-Bretagne porta pendant trois siècles à la Turquie en raison de son expansion et du développement de son commerce en Asie. Nous autres Ottomans, sans distinction de race ni de religion, nous avons à la longue identifié nos intérêts avec ceux de l'Angleterre, au point de croire à l'impossibilité pour nous d'exister politiquement à moins de marcher constamment d'accord avec elle et de maintenir, entre les deux pays, une union plus étroite encore que celle que comporte généralement une alliance. Nous sommes absolument convaincus

de cette vérité que par elle nous pourrions vivre, que sans elle nous disparaîtrions.

Nous n'avons pas seulement les mêmes intérêts : nous avons aussi un ennemi commun qui nous menace également, et c'est là le point capital et décisif. Toute atteinte portée au prestige de l'Angleterre contribue à notre perte, pendant que la disparition de notre autorité en Orient préparerait le déclin de l'Empire britannique. Quiconque voudrait attaquer efficacement l'Angleterre devrait commencer par passer sur le cadavre de la Turquie. Le jour où le drapeau moscovite flotterait sur les murs de Constantinople serait deux fois néfaste, parce qu'il marquerait, en même temps que la chute de l'Empire ottoman, l'éclipse de l'Angleterre, l'arrêt de l'œuvre grandiose qu'elle a entreprise de civiliser tout un monde, de le délivrer du joug de la barbarie et de la superstition. Le pied droit du colosse russe une fois posé sur les rives du Bosphore, le continent asiatique serait à sa merci. La disparition du khalifat ou sa réduction au rang d'une sorte de patriarcat œcuménique musulman, sous l'autorité temporelle du tzar, serait le signal d'un soulèvement général de tous les peuples mahométans et que dirigerait la Russie, quitte, après, à le réprimer une fois qu'elle serait arrivée à ses fins.

Voilà, d'après nous, ce qui se prépare, voilà la perspective lugubre que chaque pas en avant de la Russie nous découvre et à laquelle nous ne saurions penser sans frémir. Je ne crains nullement de passer pour un monstre d'imagination aux yeux d'une catégorie d'Anglais qui, faute d'examiner attentivement les choses, se résigneraient à l'amoindrisse-

gination humaine, relie à Pétersbourg, d'un côté, Port Arthur, de l'autre, les localités les plus peuplées de l'Asie Centrale et les passes principales de la route des Indes. Les trois points dominants de la frontière indienne sont occupés par des détachements russes, qui, avec la cavalerie indigène pour auxiliaire, sont prêts à se jeter sans scrupule sur l'Inde sous la bannière du sang et de l'incendie. Hérat, la vraie clef de la route des Indes, est à 80 kilomètres du dernier poste militaire russe et presque à leur portée, tandis qu'il est à plus de 700 kilomètres de Tchaman, dernière station des avant-postes de l'armée anglaise.

Toutes ces circonstances ne seraient rien, si la lutte entre les deux adversaires devait rester circonscrite aux champs de bataille. Mais le malheur est que l'action offensive graduelle des Russes, que Rawlinson compare, avec raison, aux opérations de l'établissement de parallèles autour d'une forteresse assiégée, agit sur l'imagination des peuples asiatiques, diminue le prestige de l'Angleterre et ébranle leur confiance en sa supériorité. Les effets de cette force morale sont d'autant plus importants que les moyens matériels paraissent disproportionnés avec la tâche à accomplir.

Les résultats merveilleux, obtenus grâce à la sagesse et à l'intrépidité des hommes d'Etat dirigeants, à la bravoure et à la discipline d'une armée composée d'un petit nombre d'Anglais et conduite par des héros, au dévouement, au courage et à l'habileté soutenue par l'intégrité à toute épreuve des fonctionnaires et des magistrats anglais, sont, sans doute, des titres précieux à la reconnaissance des

indigènes, qui devraient s'unir tous, sans distinction, pour maintenir l'administration anglaise ; il serait toutefois téméraire de s'y fier complètement. La nature humaine est loin d'apprécier le bien général auquel tous les intérêts privés devraient se subordonner ; et puis, quand il y a une agitation qui provient du dehors avec des idées subversives, il faudrait admettre que, bien loin de considérer les bienfaits répandus sur le pays en général, chaque classe, chaque fraction rechercherait de quelle façon ses intérêts sont affectés. C'est là certainement un atout de grande valeur dans le jeu de ce colosse qui vise à remplacer la « plus Grande Bretagne » par la « plus Grande Russie ».

Le maintien du grand Turc, bien plus que le renversement du grand Mogol, prouve aux yeux des Asiatiques la puissance de l'Angleterre : ils commencent maintenant à la discuter, et à penser si réellement la Russie finira par soumettre le monde.

En présence d'une situation pareille, nous autres Turcs, avec la conscience nette que nous avons du danger menaçant notre pays et tout l'Orient, nous nous imposons la tâche de guider tous les peuples musulmans de l'Asie, de les grouper en vue de la lutte en faveur de l'Angleterre, dont la cause est leur cause autant que celle de la civilisation, et de les convaincre de cette vérité qu'en agissant autrement ils prépareraient leur propre perte. De son côté l'Angleterre devrait regarder le danger en face, et, avec le courage et la ténacité qui lui sont propres, accepter un duel devenu inévitable et dont l'issue décidera de ses destinées et de celles de l'humanité.

La confiance que sa politique traditionnelle et ses

services séculaires inspirent à tous les Ottomans, tant musulmans que chrétiens, les droits que lui confère la Convention de Chypre, la position qu'elle occupe en Égypte sont autant de motifs pour l'Angleterre d'entreprendre hardiment l'œuvre humanitaire et civilisatrice de la réforme de notre Empire. Le jour où la Turquie, débarrassée d'un système de gouvernement abominable que le despotisme seul maintient pour se conserver et que les musulmans plus encore que les chrétiens abhorrent, aura été rendue apte à satisfaire tous les intérêts d'ordre moral et social, le retour des horreurs dont notre pays est malheureusement si souvent le théâtre sera impossible, l'équilibre universel sera établi sur une base solide, la possibilité d'une agression contre les possessions et les colonies britanniques sera écartée. Une Turquie aussi forte par ses institutions et les garanties qu'elle donnerait à ses peuples divers que par ses armées offrirait, entre autres avantages, celui d'épargner à la Grande-Bretagne la nécessité d'augmenter à l'infini le matériel de sa flotte pour parer à des combinaisons navales dirigées contre la suprématie anglaise sur les mers en commençant par la Méditerranée. Si Hérat est la clef des Indes, Constantinople reste, quoi qu'on dise, la clef du monde : fortifier les deux États détenteurs de ces clefs, c'est mettre, en même temps, les possessions anglaises hors d'atteinte, pour toujours, sur terre comme sur mer.

LA
QUESTION DU TRANSVAAL
ou
LE ROLE CIVILISATEUR DE L'ANGLETERRE

I

La guerre que l'Angleterre a entreprise au Transvaal a fixé, dès la première heure, l'attention et l'intérêt des Orientaux en général et plus particulièrement du monde musulman. La nation anglaise, par ses croyances religieuses, ses doctrines politiques, ses aptitudes commerciales, et, plus encore, par la position géographique de ses immenses possessions et de ses colonies, passe à leurs yeux pour une sorte de force motrice, un souffle inspirateur créés par Dieu pour relever la civilisation orientale et régénérer le monde musulman.

Le peuple anglais, depuis le jour où, en secouant le joug de la papauté et en brisant les chaînes infernales de l'inquisition espagnole, il a rendu la liberté à des millions d'êtres humains, a cherché à se rapprocher de ce monde musulman et, dans le cours de trois longs siècles, il n'a pas perdu un seul instant de vue cet objet, un des plus importants de sa politique.

Les sultans ottomans, par l'établissement à Constantinople du siège du Khalifat et de leurs États, et la

pose de la machine gouvernementale de leur Empire sur ce trépied formé des plus considérables de leurs provinces d'Europe, d'Asie et d'Afrique, avaient dérangé à tel point l'équilibre du monde que tous les souverains d'Occident, se croyant menacés par ce nouvel ordre de choses, se sont unis, comme en une dernière croisade, contre les Ottomans, en qui ils voyaient, avant tout, des propagateurs dangereux de l'Islam en Europe. Entre la défaite de Lépante, qui marque la fin de leur marche victorieuse et qui ouvre l'ère de leur décadence, et la catastrophe de Navarin, la chrétienté s'est soulevée par deux fois contre la Turquie, dans l'unique but d'anéantir l'Empire et l'Islam avec lui.

La première fois, c'est Henri IV — ce roi de France que l'assistance des sultans avait aidé à assurer la vie politique de son royaume et que les forces navales ottomanes, longtemps placées sous ses ordres, avaient secondé efficacement dans ses efforts pour se débarrasser de ses ennemis — qui proposa la formation d'une ligue sous le nom de République chrétienne, dont les armées seraient allées détruire l'Empire et refouler l'Islam dans les déserts de l'Asie.

Si ce projet de Henri IV, qui était simplement un acte d'ingratitude que ne justifiaient même pas les intérêts particuliers de la France, n'a pas eu de suites, c'est moins le coup porté par Ravallac qui en est cause que le refus de s'y joindre opposé par la reine Élisabeth.

La seconde fois, c'est Alexandre I^{er} qui, par la fameuse Sainte Alliance, a poursuivi le même but, et, si cette alliance n'a pas eu d'effet sur la Turquie, c'est encore parce que le régent Georges de Hanovre n'a pas voulu apposer sa signature sur un pareil traité.

Les faits historiques, et les procédés libéraux et humains dont profitent les 70 millions de musulmans placés sous l'administration directe ou sous la protection politique de la Grande-Bretagne, créent à ce pays

un véritable titre de reconnaissance de tous leurs coréligionnaires répandus sur la surface du globe et lui assurent des sympathies aussi sincères que les vœux dont ils accompagnent partout et toujours ses moindres entreprises. Quant à nous autres Ottomans, rien de ce qui touche à la grandeur de l'Angleterre ne saurait nous être indifférent, et, lorsque nous la voyons soutenir une lutte sur un point quelconque, nous aimons à nous rappeler que les Anglais, ont versé leur sang mêlé à celui de nos soldats pour la défense de notre chère patrie et les droits sacrés de notre Empire, et ce sont de tels souvenirs qui nous permettent de regarder avec fierté le passé et avec sécurité l'avenir sur lequel ils ouvrent d'immenses perspectives.



II

Le courage et la persévérance montrés par les Boërs au commencement de la guerre ont provoqué l'admiration de tous, et ceux que la grandeur de l'Angleterre offusque, ceux surtout qui attendent leur évolution nationale de sa décadence, n'ont pas marchandé leurs vœux au petit peuple dont les succès en auraient ouvert l'ère. Pour ce qui nous concerne, nous ne voulons même pas considérer la possibilité de la fin prochaine de cette grande nation qui, en se chargeant de l'éducation et du gouvernement de centaines de millions de protégés ou de sujets et en montrant à l'humanité la vraie voie du progrès, est parvenue à constituer le plus vaste Empire qui ait encore existé : aussi, nous bornerons-nous à ne traiter la question soulevée par la guerre du Transvaal qu'à l'unique point de vue des intérêts de la civilisation et de l'Islam.

Au moment même où l'Europe se croyait délivrée de la domination musulmane par la chute, tous les jours plus rapide, de l'Empire arabe en Espagne, et où les peuples de l'Occident croyaient pouvoir s'en réjouir, Mahomet le Conquérant vint jeter parmi eux l'alarme par la prise de Constantinople, le foyer de la civilisation chrétienne à cette époque et l'un des deux sièges de l'autorité spirituelle du christianisme.

Tous les souverains et chefs d'État, le pape à leur tête, n'étaient préoccupés que de trouver les moyens de barrer le chemin à cette nouvelle invasion islamique. Juan II de Portugal n'était pas le moins ardent dans la poursuite de cette œuvre. Il se mit aussitôt à purger les côtes barbaresques des musulmans, et à leur chercher

dès ennemis jusque dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique ou dans les pays les plus lointains de l'Asie.

On croyait déjà à l'existence dans les Indes orientales d'un roi-pontife, et les récits des amiraux portugais revenant de leurs découvertes sur les côtes occidentales de l'Afrique, non moins que les détails apportés par les envoyés du Bénin, confirmèrent à propos cette légende. D'après ces récits, à vingt lunes de marche du Bénin, il y avait un grand souverain qui, à cause de sa puissance temporelle et spirituelle, était tenu pour le premier de tous les chefs et souverains de l'Afrique, auxquels il envoyait, à leur avènement, en signe d'investiture, un sceptre, une couronne et une croix. Juan II vit dans ce dernier emblème une preuve qu'il s'agissait là d'un prince chrétien qui devait être le fameux prêtre Jean avec lequel il désirait, depuis longtemps, entrer en rapports.

Il organise donc, en 1486, une expédition sous le commandement de Bartolomeo Diaz pour découvrir le royaume et la capitale de ce pontife. C'est cette expédition, dont le but était de procurer les moyens de détruire l'Islam, qui, après avoir touché au Bénin, dans un voyage des plus accidentés pendant de longs mois, parvint à ce cap qui forme le sommet du triangle africain : lasse, cependant, des péripéties de la navigation et découragée par l'aspect sauvage de la contrée et l'hostilité des habitants, elle rebroussa chemin. Mais le roi Juan, mécontent de ce résultat, ne renonça pas à son projet, changea le nom de *Cap des Tempêtes*, donné par Diaz au pays qu'il découvrit, en celui de *Cap de Bonne Espérance*, et organisa une nouvelle expédition sous le commandement du célèbre Vasco de Gama qui ne put, toutefois, se mettre en route que dix ans plus tard et alors que ce roi était déjà mort.

Vasco, après une très mauvaise traversée, double enfin le Cap et, continuant son chemin vers le Nord-Est, découvre, le premier, le pays qu'il a nommé le Natal,

fait escale sur les côtes déjà découvertes et occupées par les Arabes, et, guidé par les pilotes de ces derniers, qui connaissaient la route des Indes, y parvient et ouvre ainsi la grande route maritime entre l'Occident et l'Orient. Quoique très important au point de vue géographique, le Cap demeura inoccupé pendant plus d'un siècle et demi. Des navigateurs européens y avaient débarqué à plusieurs reprises; les Anglais mêmes, en 1620, en avaient pris possession provisoire au nom de Jacques 1^{er}; mais tous, après y être restés peu de temps, s'en étaient retirés, et les Hollandais ont été les premiers qui s'y soient établis d'une manière définitive.

La Compagnie néerlandaise des Indes orientales y créa un entrepôt et un comptoir, et, en 1652, sous le commandement de *Van Riebeck* (?), y envoya une centaine de soldats licenciés du service. Cette bande, à peine débarquée, se hâta de construire un petit fort en pierres sèches, ainsi que quelques baraques, sur l'emplacement même où s'élève aujourd'hui la splendide ville de Capetown, et se met à donner la chasse aux naturels du pays pour leur enlever leurs femmes, leurs enfants et leurs bestiaux. Deux ans après, quelques centaines d'orphelines leur sont expédiées d'Amsterdam, et le nombre de ces premiers colons est grossi peu à peu par l'immigration d'aventuriers de toute provenance et par des familles protestantes françaises fuyant les persécutions dont elles étaient l'objet en France. Comme, cependant, ces gens se livraient exclusivement à la chasse des sauvages et des bêtes fauves, le Gouvernement hollandais fit transporter dans la colonie quelques cargaisons de nègres pour y travailler les champs, ainsi que plusieurs milliers de notables musulmans des Iles de la Sonde, que la population européenne contraignit aux plus durs travaux et en fit tout bonnement des esclaves.

Les Boërs, qui étaient ainsi devenus les bourreaux de la population de couleur et les dévastateurs du pays,

étaient imbus des idées fanatiques d'un autre âge, et leur cruauté était certainement accrue par le sentiment qu'ils avaient d'être à tout jamais séparés de la mère-patrie. Ignorants comme ils étaient, ils avaient pour unique soutien moral la Bible que quelques-uns d'entre eux pouvaient lire, mais qu'ils interprétaient à la lettre et comme si elle avait été écrite exprès pour eux. Ils croyaient qu'il leur était permis de verser le sang et de s'approprier les biens de quiconque n'était pas de leur religion, qu'il fût indigène ou étranger, Malais, païen ou musulman : recueillir les enfants de leurs victimes pour les élever comme leurs esclaves était, à leurs yeux, un acte de piété. Pendant un siècle et demi de pareils méfaits, toutes les tribus de cette partie de l'Afrique du Sud et plus d'un million de ses habitants avaient été détruits ; quant à ces malheureux Malais musulmans, qui, chez eux, avaient possédé des serviteurs et qui étaient habitués à une large aisance, ils s'étaient vus réduire en esclavage, et ceux, parmi eux, qui n'avaient pas disparu sous ce régime tyrannique ne conservaient plus de leur origine et de leur religion que le nom seulement.

III

Il fallait un miracle pour que cette partie de l'Afrique, dont les Boërs avaient fait un cimetière et un enfer, fût soustraite à leurs dévastations : l'Angleterre l'accomplit.

Dans le but d'assurer ses relations avec les Indes et de donner à ses flottes, qui parcouraient en tous sens l'Océan, la sécurité dont elles avaient besoin, elle songeait depuis longtemps à occuper le Cap, et même en 1780 une flotte en avait pris le chemin, quand une escadre française le lui ferma en lui livrant bataille et en renforçant la garnison hollandaise.

Mais, quelques années plus tard, la France, à la suite du changement survenu dans sa politique, s'étant emparée de la Hollande dont naguère encore elle défendait les possessions, procura à l'Angleterre l'occasion de faire main basse sur le Cap où les Boërs s'étaient déclarés en révolte. La rétrocession à la République batave en avait été, il est vrai, stipulée dans le traité d'Amiens, mais n'a jamais été effectuée, et le traité de Vienne ayant reconnu les droits de possession de la Grande-Bretagne sur ce pays, il demeura, depuis l'année 1795, colonie anglaise.

Comme il était naturel, un des premiers soins de la nouvelle administration fut de mettre un terme aux détestables procédés des Boërs, et la liberté individuelle fut autant que possible garantie aux musulmans malais et aux indigènes privés de tout droit et qui étaient traités comme des bêtes de somme.

Les Boërs, forts de leur supériorité numérique, accueillirent avec dédain les réformes des nouveaux maîtres de

la contrée ; mais, d'un côté, l'augmentation des immigrants venant d'Angleterre, et, d'un autre, le retour de tous ceux qui, pour échapper aux vexations, s'étaient réfugiés dans les hautes montagnes, ainsi que le bon vouloir des Malais attirés par l'humanité montrée par les Anglais, procurèrent à l'administration britannique les moyens de se faire obéir et d'obtenir, au moins pour quelque temps, la soumission des Boërs au nouvel état de choses. Néanmoins, le mécontentement de ces derniers n'attendait qu'une occasion pour se produire au grand jour. Ils supportaient difficilement un gouvernement juste et égalitaire. Ils furent tout à fait exaspérés par l'acte du Parlement qui décréta l'émancipation des esclaves dans toutes les possessions britanniques et leur rachat au moyen d'une somme de 20 millions de livres. Se voyant privés, tout d'un coup, par cette mesure qui restera l'éternel honneur de l'Angleterre, du travail de toute une population avec laquelle ils devaient vivre désormais côte à côte sur un pied de complète égalité, ils préférèrent presque tous émigrer vers le Nord avec leurs biens et leurs troupeaux. Ils traversèrent l'Orange pour aller vivre en nomades sur les plateaux qu'ils avaient reconnus dans leurs précédentes incursions. Ils placèrent à leur tête Peter Retief qui les administra patriarcalement et les tint à distance des lieux habités par les Cafres. Rejoints par des envoyés anglais qui les avertissent que, partout où ils se trouveraient, ils ne cesseraient pas d'être sujets de la Reine, ils s'avancent plus au Nord et quelques-uns d'entre eux se portèrent jusqu'à la chaîne du Darken Bergen. Une fois là, ils entrèrent en relations avec Dingan, chef des Zoulous, qui leur désigna comme séjour l'autre versant de la montagne, mais qui, soupçonnant leurs vues ambitieuses, sous prétexte de leur montrer les terres qu'il leur destinait, fondit sur eux et en massacra un grand nombre. Les autres purent cependant s'établir dans ces parages, et, devenus, avec le temps, les plus forts, ils

arrivèrent à déposséder Dingan qu'ils remplacèrent par son frère, leur ami, et à constituer la République du Natal que l'Angleterre, qui ne pouvait tolérer l'existence d'un État indépendant sur ce littoral, détruisit, peu après, par la force, les Boërs ayant refusé de se soumettre de bon gré.

Les plus obstinés parmi eux, plutôt que d'accepter un régime qui mettait les noirs au même rang que les blancs et qui se faisait un devoir de distribuer, à tous, les bienfaits de la civilisation, aimèrent mieux traverser le Vaal sous la conduite de *Hendrick Pot Keyter* et s'étendirent jusqu'aux montagnes de Kachan ou Magalisberg. Mais cette région était occupée déjà par le chef des Matabélés, Moussilé Katzé, contre lequel il fallut lutter pour l'obliger à fuir au delà du Limpopo. Ce n'est qu'après cette victoire que les Boërs se rendirent maîtres du pays, dont les populations, épuisées par les vexations des Matabélés, les reçurent d'abord en libérateurs et eurent bientôt lieu de s'en repentir lorsqu'ils connurent de plus près leurs conquérants et qu'ils se virent enlever leurs femmes, leurs enfants et leurs bestiaux.

L'Afrique apparaissait aux Boërs, dont la Bible était la lecture exclusive, comme une sorte de terre promise et ses habitants leur semblaient créés pour être leurs esclaves ; quiconque cherchait à humaniser et à convertir les nègres au christianisme, qu'il fût missionnaire ou négociant d'origine anglaise ou autre, devenait suspect à leurs yeux et était certain de se heurter à leur hostilité.

L'illustre Livingstone lui-même était contrarié dans la tâche à laquelle il s'était voué avec tant d'abnégation. Les maîtres qu'il formait dans son école de Colemberg, chef-lieu du Becuan, étaient accueillis partout, excepté au Transvaal, où le bénéfice d'une instruction rudimentaire était systématiquement refusé aux nègres. Hendrick, qu'il était allé prier de lever cette interdiction, lui répondit avec cynisme que ce qu'il était nécessaire d'enseigner aux nègres c'était surtout la croyance qu'ils étaient nés pour être les esclaves des blancs.



IV

L'Angleterre, comme on vient de le voir, considérait l'abolition de la traite et le développement du commerce comme les deux seuls moyens efficaces d'introduire les éléments de la civilisation en Afrique, pendant que les Boërs, fidèles à leurs mœurs et aux principes d'exclusivisme de leur constitution, y faisaient obstacle de toutes leurs forces. Placée devant ces deux alternatives, de supprimer totalement un gouvernement réfractaire aux idées de progrès ou d'en essayer la réforme, elle préféra la dernière qui, à ce moment, offrait l'avantage de l'affranchir de toute préoccupation de ce côté et de lui laisser toute sa liberté d'action dans les affaires d'Orient qui allaient aboutir à la guerre de Crimée. Le Vaal fut déclaré la limite Nord de ses possessions dans l'Afrique méridionale, et la population établie au delà du fleuve fut déliée de sa sujétion à la couronne. La République du Transvaal fut reconnue en vertu d'une convention signée en 1852 par le gouverneur du Cap et un envoyé du président Prétorius, et l'Orange même put se constituer en État libre sous la condition formelle de l'abolition de l'esclavage.

A partir de ce jour, les Boërs n'avaient qu'une seule obligation pour être libres, celle de ne pas pratiquer la traite et de ne pas entraver le commerce. Il semble que ce fût trop leur demander, car ils ne tardèrent pas à manquer à leurs engagements. Au moment où l'on discutait les bases de la convention à conclure, le délégué de Prétorius demanda au gouverneur anglais ce que deviendraient les missionnaires. Sir George Cathcart répondit en plaisantant : « Vous en ferez ce que vous voudrez ».

Cette réponse fut prise au sérieux, et, quelques mois à peine après la signature de cet acte, Prétorius, interprétant la défense faite aux Béchuanas d'importer des armes dans le sens d'une autorisation qui lui aurait été accordée de les molester impunément, se jeta sur leur pays, détruisit la ville de Colemborg et l'école que Livingstone y avait fondée et permit qu'une partie de la population fût exterminée et que ceux qui parmi les femmes et les enfants avaient survécu fussent enlevés et réduits en esclavage. Livingstone, à son retour de Caruna, trouva tout en ruines, ses livres, que les sauvages avaient respectés, déchirés et éparpillés et plus de deux cents de ses élèves emportés par les Boërs. Il décrit les lamentations des enfants et de leurs parents et raconte, entre autres, que l'enfant de Tsétsélé, qu'il avait réclamé sur les instances de sa mère, lui avait été rendu les deux côtes brûlées et portant d'autres traces encore des tortures auxquelles on l'avait soumis.

Assurés de leur indépendance, à l'abri de toute intervention de la part de l'Angleterre, les Boërs devinrent de plus en plus arrogants, et, se croyant investis de la mission de ne laisser vivre en Afrique que ceux qui plieraient sous leur joug, ils entreprirent d'emmener les tribus voisines, de détruire l'une après l'autre toutes les institutions des missionnaires, et allèrent jusqu'à expulser les négociants anglais qui voulaient entrer en relation avec les peuplades du Nord. Leur arrogance était arrivée à un tel point que, pendant que l'Angleterre était en guerre avec la Russie pour la défense de la Turquie, ils tentèrent de prêter la main aux Russes qui, dans leur pensée, s'étaient armés pour la délivrance des Lieux Saints et la destruction des musulmans ennemis de leur religion et des Anglais, leurs ennemis mortels et les alliés de ces mêmes musulmans. Une marche de quelques jours suffit pour décourager ces fanatiques qui s'étaient improvisés les amis de la Russie, et cette nouvelle équipée des Boërs n'a eu d'autre résultat que de faire découvrir une

rivière qu'on a prise pour le Nil et qui porte encore ce nom.

Sur ces entrefaites mourut Prétorius, le David des Boërs ; son fils Prétorius II fut élu, à l'unanimité, à sa place, et, bien que ses capacités fussent très limitées, il eut la chance, en raison des services de son père, d'être appelé également à la présidence de l'Orange, qu'il n'exerça d'ailleurs que peu de temps.

En 1867 des mines de diamant furent trouvées dans le Griqualand, et les deux républiques, alléchées par la richesse qu'on n'avait pas soupçonnée jusque là de cette contrée, ne manquèrent pas d'affirmer sur elle des revendications, et malgré les protestations de *Waterboër*, le chef des Griquas, elles envoyèrent des gouverneurs prendre possession des mines. Mais les mineurs étant pour la plupart des Anglais, et les Griquas refusant de reconnaître l'autorité des Boërs, le gouverneur du Cap se rendit sur les lieux et trancha le différend en annexant à la Colonie du Cap un territoire considéré depuis longtemps comme faisant partie de la couronne.

Le président de l'Orange fut assez heureux pour obtenir à Londres, où il se rendit, une somme considérable à titre de dédommagement ; quant à celui du Transvaal, qui ne sut suivre l'exemple de son collègue, il encourut la disgrâce de ses concitoyens et se vit remplacer par François Bürgher.

Ce dernier, un Hollandais de beaucoup de mérite, comprit la nécessité de répandre parmi ses compatriotes les lumières et de faciliter les communications dans son pays, et son premier soin fut de se rendre en Europe où il négocia et conclut l'arrangement auquel est due la construction du chemin de fer de Delagoa-Bay à Prétoria. Mais, à son retour, il se trouva en présence d'une situation très grave et ne put se maintenir au pouvoir.

Krüger, en son absence, avait miné sa position par des intrigues de toute sorte, et, d'autre part, Sococo, chef d'une grande tribu, ayant renouvelé ses prétentions sur

les territoires occupés par les Boërs, une guerre s'ensuivit qui aboutit à la défaite complète de ces derniers. Heureusement pour eux, le Gouvernement anglais, qui a craint que ce succès des indigènes ne mit en péril, avec l'existence du Transvaal, celle de tous les blancs d'Afrique, intervint à temps et envoya comme commissaire Théophile Chepstone qui entra à Prétoria où il arbora le drapeau anglais et prit possession du pays au nom de la Reine avec le consentement des habitants de la ville et d'accord avec Krüger lui-même.

L'intervention de l'Angleterre sauva incontestablement le pays contre les indigènes ; mais, leur salut une fois assuré, les Boërs commencèrent peu à peu à se montrer mécontents, et leur mécontentement, au bout de trois ans, aboutit à une révolte ouverte. Le gouverneur du Natal, sir George Colley, fut chargé de la réprimer : il marcha avec une petite troupe contre les Boërs qui lui infligèrent à Lengsneck un premier échec ; à peine reçut-il quelques renforts qu'il se porta de nouveau contre eux à Majuba-Hill où ils s'étaient fortement retranchés et son petit corps fut complètement anéanti : lui-même paya de sa vie son imprudence. Ce désastre produisit une vive émotion en Angleterre : le général Wood avait déjà débarqué à Durban et se préparait à prendre une revanche, lorsque M. Gladstone préféra, dans un de ces mouvements de magnanimité dont il était coutumier, la modération à l'emploi de la force, et lança la fameuse dépêche qui contenait ces mots restés célèbres : *We have wronged the Boërs, make peace.*

C'est ainsi qu'en 1881 la République du Transvaal fut reconnue sous la condition expresse de la suzeraineté de l'Angleterre et des droits de celle-ci d'intervenir dans certaines affaires intérieures du pays.

En 1884, Krüger, accompagné du commandant général et du ministre de l'Instruction publique, se rendit à Londres et conclut avec le Gouvernement anglais

une nouvelle convention par laquelle était établie la complète indépendance du Transvaal, mais dont l'article IV l'obligeait à ne passer, à l'exception de l'Orange, aucune convention ni aucun traité avec une puissance étrangère quelle qu'elle fût, ou avec des chefs indigènes, sans le consentement préalable de la couronne. C'est l'interprétation de cet arrangement, constituant le droit public du Transvaal, qui est cause des difficultés soulevées par la suite et qui a donné lieu à la guerre actuelle.

Avant d'entrer dans des explications sur la situation d'aujourd'hui, nous croyons intéressant de donner quelques détails sur les conditions sociales et administratives des Boërs.

Éloignés par leur caractère rude et méfiant de la vie en société, les Boërs, partout où ils s'établissent, mènent l'existence de paysan et de pasteur. Chaque chef de famille possède une grande étendue de terre appelée « Platz » qui ne contient pas moins de 3000 « morgens » et au centre de laquelle il installe un lieu d'habitation ou plutôt un fort capable de contenir et de protéger tous les siens ainsi que ses esclaves et ses bestiaux. Cette vie isolée rend impossible la propagation de la civilisation et de l'instruction, et, jusque en ces derniers temps, la plupart des Boërs étaient vêtus de peaux de bêtes et, ne pouvant lire les livres sacrés, se contentaient de regarder les images dont ils étaient illustrés. Leurs villes ne sont que de grands villages, et pas un des Boërs qui les habitent n'exerce le commerce ou un métier. Ce n'est que dans l'Orange et dans la partie du Transvaal qui y confine que l'établissement des indigènes est permis ; dans le reste de la contrée ceux-ci ne peuvent vivre en commun qu'autant qu'ils appartiennent à différentes tribus, et, dans ce cas encore, ils doivent périodiquement changer de résidence. Le nègre, où qu'il se trouve, ne peut ni posséder la terre, ni porter des armes, ni jouir des droits civils et politiques ; non seulement il ne peut rester sous le même toit que les blancs, mais encore il lui est interdit d'habiter le même quartier ; il n'a pas la faculté d'exploiter une mine pour son compte, et il lui

est défendu de toucher son salaire en or et d'en porter sur lui sous peine de bastonnade et d'emprisonnement.

Les Chinois, les Indous et les Musulmans sont soumis au même régime, et, pour exercer un métier, ils doivent se munir d'un permis spécial contre paiement de 25 livres sterling.

La forme du Gouvernement est républicaine. Un président est élu pour cinq ans par le suffrage universel. Deux chambres de 29 membres chacune, sous le nom de *Volksraad*, constituent le pouvoir législatif; le président, le vice-président, qui est en même temps le commandant des troupes, et quatre ministres forment le pouvoir exécutif. Au début, la naturalisation des blancs était facile; mais, après la découverte des mines et l'augmentation de leur nombre, pour se prémunir contre la prédominance des étrangers et principalement des Anglais, l'obtention de l'indigénat a été rendue plus difficile.

Cette soi-disant république, qui depuis 19 ans est entre les mains et à la discrétion de Krüger, ne reconnaît les droits de l'homme qu'à ceux qui sont blancs de couleur, les droits civils qu'à ceux qui appartiennent à la confession des Boërs, et les droits politiques qu'à ceux qui sont issus de leur race. Les instances de l'Angleterre, la principale intéressée dans les affaires sud-africaines, pour l'abolition de ces distinctions religieuses et ethniques, ont déterminé, par suite du refus des Boërs d'y faire droit, le conflit auquel nous assistons.

Si les Boërs du Transvaal et les Burghers de l'Orange continuaient à ne s'occuper que d'élevage et d'agriculture, comme l'Angleterre est maîtresse de tous les pays environnants, à l'exception de la partie Nord-Est du Transvaal qui appartient au Portugal, que ses chemins de fer enserrant les deux États de tous côtés et qu'elle tient toutes leurs communications, rien ne pourrait donner lieu à des contestations quelconques. Au contraire, le commerce des républiques se trouvant entre les mains des Anglais, leur intérêt les obligerait à suivre l'exemple

de leurs congénères du Cap et à devenir eux aussi, à leur tour, les instruments de l'Angleterre pour la propagation de son influence et de sa civilisation en Afrique.

Mais Dieu, outre une fécondité extraordinaire, a doté leurs terres d'une richesse minière vraiment miraculeuse. La surface du Transvaal est de 800 mille kilomètres carrés, et le tiers de cette étendue est un bassin minier qui forme un trésor inépuisable. L'exploitation de ces gisements aurifères se développe, depuis 16 ans, à tel point que la valeur de l'or extrait pendant la dernière année avant la guerre dépassait 17 millions de livres sterling. Une richesse aussi inouïe a augmenté l'importance économique et politique du pays, et l'effet que l'or produit sur l'homme y a attiré une foule de chercheurs de fortune de toutes les parties du monde.

Avant la découverte des mines, la population blanche était au plus de 70 mille âmes : elle va aujourd'hui au delà de 300 mille. Les revenus de l'État de 170 mille livres sont montés à 4 millions, et les ressources du trésor public ont pris de telles proportions que, alors qu'on y trouvait jadis avec difficulté une pièce d'or, la République y a puisé abondamment les moyens de se procurer l'armement formidable qui lui a permis de tenir tête à une puissance comme l'Angleterre. Il y a seize ans, le total de l'importation et de l'exportation atteignait un million : aujourd'hui le commerce général dépasse 30 millions de livres sterling, soit un chiffre supérieur à celui du commerce général de la Turquie. Il ne faut pas oublier que ce pays si extraordinairement riche appartient à ces Boërs qui, autrefois sujets de la reine, ont fui son administration, entravé par tous les moyens l'expansion anglaise et cru accomplir un devoir religieux en se montrant hostiles aux idées, aux mœurs et à la politique civilisatrice de l'Anglais.

On ne doit pas non plus perdre de vue que la valeur de cette richesse minière est représentée par des actions.

détenues par des capitalistes de la Cité de Londres et que les administrateurs des compagnies sont Anglais. Les quatre cinquièmes des Uitlanders, qui forment la moitié de la population blanche, sont également des Anglais.

Dans ces conditions, l'Angleterre pouvait-elle abandonner à la discrétion d'un gouvernement arbitraire et arriéré plusieurs milliards de sa fortune publique et quelques dizaines de mille de ses sujets qui avaient été les premiers à mettre en valeur le sous-sol d'un territoire dont la surface seule avait été jusque là exploitée par les Boërs ?

Voilà, en résumé, les causes principales du différend qui a provoqué la guerre.

Il ne fallait pas que les vues d'expansion de l'Angleterre sur le continent africain, déjà contrecarrées par les tendances rétrogrades des Boërs, trouvassent un autre obstacle dans le développement économique et politique du jeune État, d'autant plus que l'Angleterre devait envisager le retentissement que la moindre faiblesse de sa part aurait eu sur les relations avec ses sujets immédiats de la Colonie du Cap qui, congénères des Boërs, se seraient, à un moment donné, joints à ceux-ci pour poser la question de l'abandon de l'Afrique par l'une des deux races rivales.

VI

Nous n'entendons pas nous attarder dans l'examen des droits découlant des traités sur lesquels l'Angleterre base ses revendications; nous ne voulons pas, non plus, rechercher si les mesures auxquelles elle a recours suffisent à la défense de ses intérêts, qui sont toujours identiques avec les intérêts de la liberté et de la civilisation. L'Angleterre est, dans le monde, le champion le plus décidé et le plus fidèle du libéralisme; elle reconnaît, partout et à tous, le droit de jouir des bienfaits d'un gouvernement éclairé et ami du progrès et de la justice : où qu'elle rencontre l'arbitraire, elle est prête à le combattre, et il n'y a pas de peuple opprimé qui ne soit assuré de sa sympathie et de sa protection.

Sans doute, ces admirables dispositions du peuple anglais ne s'expliquent pas uniquement par ses sentiments humanitaires. Le Royaume-Uni, cette sorte de fabrique flottante travaillant pour l'univers entier, a besoin d'augmenter sans cesse sa clientèle qui devient plus nombreuse à mesure que se multiplient les besoins que crée la civilisation. L'Angleterre, différente en cela des autres conquérants, ne cherche pas à ajouter à ses richesses en épuisant celle des pays qu'elle s'annexe; loin de là, elle fait elle-même des sacrifices pour y créer le bien-être et entend asseoir sa propre grandeur sur la prospérité des autres. En tout cas, d'après nous, elle mérite d'autant mieux la confiance des peuples qu'elle laisse assez voir qu'elle n'est pas la dernière à profiter de la bienveillance qu'elle leur témoigne.

Les Anglais, en Afrique, visent à l'extension des bienfaits d'un gouvernement civilisé sur tous ses habitants;

leurs réclamations contre les Boërs n'ont d'autre but que l'établissement d'une administration qui assurerait, tant aux noirs qu'aux blancs, tant aux étrangers qu'aux sujets de la Reine, des droits analogues à ceux dont jouissent les Africanders de toute origine dans la Colonie du Cap. Au surplus, la manière dont l'Angleterre a administré les pays placés sous sa domination directe en Afrique lui confère le droit de vouloir introduire dans les Républiques sud-africaines un régime qui a fait ses preuves et qui, dans l'espace de moins d'un siècle, a changé une contrée sauvage en une colonie prospère et possédant, au même degré que les États de l'Europe, tout ce qui résume la civilisation occidentale.

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Les Anglais, en Afrique, visent à l'extension des bienfaits d'un gouvernement civilisé sur tous ses habitants;

VII

Les musulmans de ces pays ne sont certes pas ceux qui ont le moins bénéficié des avantages d'une telle administration.

En premier lieu, des mesures ont été prises pour que leurs mosquées et leurs institutions communales fussent respectées, et M. de Roubais, juge de paix de la ville de Capetown, protégea les intérêts des musulmans au point que, en peu de temps, leur communauté occupait une excellente situation parmi les autres. La guerre de Crimée avait affermi l'amitié sincère existant entre l'Angleterre et la Turquie, et les musulmans du Cap étaient parfaitement en état d'apprécier la valeur de l'entente entre le gouvernement de leur pays et le Khalifat. Ils saisirent cette occasion pour envoyer à Abdul-Medjid, leur chef spirituel et l'ami et allié de leur Reine, une adresse exprimant leur reconnaissance pour les bienfaits dont ils étaient comblés et leur satisfaction des services que M. de Roubais leur rendait continuellement.

Le sultan Abdul-Medjid, appréciant comme ils le méritaient de tels services, fit parvenir à ce dernier un riche cadeau avec l'expression de ses remerciements. Le prestige de M. de Roubais n'en fut que plus grand dans la colonie et lui-même redoubla de zèle. Les Africanders, sous l'influence de vieilles rancunes, lui faisaient ouvertement la guerre, et empêchèrent que sa candidature réussît aux élections pour la Chambre Basse, mais il n'en entra pas moins au Parlement, un an plus tard, comme membre de la Chambre Haute dans une élection partielle.

L'Angleterre, non contente de fortifier le pouvoir du

sultan sur le terrain politique, cherchait aussi, en toute circonstance, à rendre plus éclatant son prestige de chef spirituel par tout le monde musulman : c'est vers cette même époque qu'elle provoqua l'envoi de Constantinople d'un homme capable d'instruire les musulmans du Cap dans les dogmes de leur foi, et reconnut M. de Roubaix, qui conservait son siège au Parlement, en qualité de consul général de Turquie.

Ce dernier, à l'avènement du sultan Abdul-Aziz, entreprit un voyage à Constantinople pour exposer à la Sublime Porte la situation de la communauté musulmane et solliciter les moyens de la rendre meilleure encore. Grâce à l'esprit éclairé de Fuad Pacha et d'Ali Pacha, les ministres d'alors, toutes ses demandes furent accueillies et il reçut du sultan une somme considérable pour l'érection d'une mosquée à Port-Elisabeth.

Tous ces nobles efforts, unis à l'instruction que leur donnait le Hodja Békir Effendi, relevèrent moralement et matériellement les musulmans du Cap et les placèrent dans une position tout à fait enviable. Telle était du reste l'impartialité dont s'inspiraient les autorités anglaises en général que, les Africanders s'étant opposés à ce que les musulmans eussent une part dans la subvention accordée aux écoles pour l'instruction religieuse des enfants, sous prétexte qu'elle n'était destinée qu'aux écoles chrétiennes, on avisa à ce que pareille injustice fût épargnée aux musulmans, qui reçurent pleine satisfaction sur ce point. On alla même plus loin, en faisant voter une modification du serment que doivent prêter les membres du Parlement, de façon à en rendre possible l'entrée aux musulmans comme aux chrétiens.

Il est inutile d'ajouter que, grâce à ces conditions particulièrement favorables, la prospérité de la communauté musulmane va toujours en se développant et que la propagande islamique s'exerce librement et avec le plus grand succès parmi les populations indigènes de l'Afrique du Sud.

Par les détails qui précèdent nous n'avons pas prétendu établir la supériorité morale de l'un des deux éléments engagés dans la lutte qui a eu lieu sur les plateaux de l'Afrique du Sud. Notre but a été seulement de démontrer que le triomphe de l'Angleterre dans ces pays faciliterait les progrès de la civilisation au milieu de leurs habitants de couleur et assurerait les intérêts présents et futurs du monde en général et notamment des musulmans. Faire des vœux en faveur des Boërs équivaldrait à désirer que tout un continent fût à jamais tenu dans l'ignorance et la barbarie, que la marche de l'humanité souffrit un arrêt et que ceux qui professent la foi musulmane fussent privés des garanties indispensables à leur évolution.

VIII

Devant ces vérités, il y a lieu de regretter les jugements et les appréciations portés sur la question du Transvaal dans le public comme dans les cercles officiels, et qui s'expliquent, croyons-nous, par le sentiment de jalousie qu'inspire à tous l'immense Empire que l'Angleterre a su fonder, que l'admirable système gouvernemental qu'elle a conçu conserve et développe, et que sa formidable puissance maritime est capable de défendre sur tous les points du globe.

Indifférente aux combinaisons politiques qui se forment en dehors d'elle et contre elle, la Grande-Bretagne a vu, une fois de plus, à l'occasion de la guerre sud-africaine, l'hésitation de ses rivales à se mesurer avec elle ; mais les signes ne lui ont pas manqué, en même temps, auxquels elle a pu reconnaître l'approche du moment où elle aura à entrer en lutte avec la puissance qui vise à la domination universelle. Cette lutte est inévitable et elle décidera du sort de l'Orient, de son avènement à la lumière et à la civilisation ou de son asservissement et de la prolongation des ténèbres qui pèsent sur lui.

Les Orientaux, et notamment les habitants, tous musulmans, de la zone qui verra le premier choc entre ces deux forces d'éléments si dissemblables, y assisteront-ils impassibles alors qu'ils en doivent être le principal enjeu ?

Musulmans et Ottomans doivent envisager sérieusement l'éventualité de ce choc, en prévoir les conséquences selon que la victoire ira à l'un ou à l'autre des combattants et se préparer à soutenir celui des deux dont les

tendances et les principes politiques cadreraient le mieux avec leurs intérêts religieux et nationaux. L'Empire ottoman a, plus que tout autre, l'obligation de prendre un parti, en raison même de sa position géographique qui en fait une sorte d'intermédiaire, entre l'Orient et l'Occident, de la civilisation moderne qu'elle a définitivement adoptée, et du prestige que lui donne la qualité dont son souverain est investi de protecteur de l'Islam et de dépositaire du Khalifat.

Il convient donc d'examiner au point de vue de la Turquie les conditions particulières dans lesquelles se trouve chacun des quatre États, soit l'Angleterre, la Russie, la France et la Hollande, qui ont des intérêts dans des contrées comprenant des populations mahométanes.

DI

IX

L'Angleterre, que sa force et sa nature insulaire ont mise à l'abri de toute agression du dehors, a pu, grâce à sa suprématie navale, prendre possession de contrées lointaines et considérables qu'aucune autre puissance n'aurait su atteindre; sachant que l'élément musulman indien pourrait seul revendiquer des droits souverains dans les Indes, et que seul l'Empire ottoman pourrait servir de base d'attaque contre ses possessions, elle a reconnu dès le dernier siècle l'importance de la Turquie et l'utilité de la fortifier et de s'en faire une arme. Notre histoire politique, dans le cours de ce siècle, est là pour montrer qu'elle a été constamment guidée par ce point de vue.

C'est l'Angleterre qui fit manquer l'expédition de Napoléon I^{er} en Égypte en détruisant la flotte française à Aboukir; et quand la France, profitant de l'anéantissement des forces navales du sultan, à Navarin, put s'emparer de l'Algérie, et poussa Méhémet-Ali à la révolte en faisant miroiter à ses yeux l'espoir d'occuper le trône de Constantinople, c'est encore elle qui sut coaliser l'Europe contre le pacha d'Égypte et sa protectrice, préserver la Turquie des dangers qu'impliquait pour elle le traité de Hunkiar-Iskélessi et faire reconnaître dans le traité de Londres son intégrité par toutes les puissances, y compris la France et la Russie. Sans doute la Russie aussi s'était opposée à la marche en avant de Méhémet-Ali, mais sa conduite lui était dictée moins par la crainte de voir tomber l'Empire des Osmanlis que par le désir d'empêcher que ce corps pourri, à son sens, fût vivifié par le sang nouveau que lui aurait

infusé le conquérant égyptien. S'il en fallait une preuve, on la trouverait dans le mécontentement qu'elle témoigna de l'ère de progrès et de prospérité qu'inaugura le Tanzimat et dans la décision qu'elle prit brusquement de faire de la Turquie sa vassale ou de l'anéantir, lorsqu'elle chargea d'une part Mentchikoff de sa fameuse mission auprès du sultan Abdul-Medjid, et qu'elle essaya, d'autre part, de gagner la bienveillance de l'Angleterre en lui offrant l'Égypte et la Crète.

Fermes dans leur résolution de soutenir et de relever l'Empire, les Anglais n'hésitèrent pas à repousser les offres de Nicolas I^{er} et, profitant des dispositions de Napoléon III qui ne pouvait admettre que la France fût privée de ses droits séculaires sur les Lieux Saints et qui désirait annuler les clauses du traité de Vienne contraires au rétablissement de la dynastie napoléonienne, conclurent avec lui l'alliance si féconde qui aboutit à la guerre de Crimée et au traité de Paris dont les dispositions consacrèrent l'intégrité de la Turquie et son admission dans le concert européen, en même temps qu'elles rendirent irréalisable, pour longtemps, le projet de faire de la mer Noire un lac russe. Ce résultat, toutefois, si satisfaisant qu'il fût, aurait sans doute été dépassé si le projet de l'Angleterre de prolonger la guerre jusqu'à ce qu'on arrachât à la Russie le Caucase et la Crimée n'avait pas été contrarié par l'empereur qui, constamment guidé par des préoccupations dynastiques et le besoin d'ajouter à son prestige, ne put être arrêté que par l'attitude de l'Angleterre dans les velléités qu'il montra, dès le commencement des hostilités, d'arriver à un rapprochement avec la Russie.

Telle était la versatilité de l'empereur des Français que, avant même que l'encre de sa signature séchât sur l'instrument de paix et que s'effaçât sur les champs de bataille la trace du sang français versé pour le maintien de la Turquie, il proposa au Cabinet de St-James l'annexion de la Tunisie, de la Tripolitaine et de ses dépen-

dances au Piémont, celle du Maroc à la France et celle de l'Égypte à l'Angleterre.

Lord Palmerston opposa le refus le plus catégorique à cette proposition et prescrivit à lord Cawley, par l'intermédiaire de lord Clarendon, premier plénipotentiaire au Congrès de Paris, d'expliquer au plus tôt à l'empereur que « plus d'un pays (comme par exemple l'Italie, l'Espagne et la Sicile) serait plus prospère s'il passait à la France, à l'Angleterre ou au Piémont, mais que ce qui constituait la force de l'entente entre la France et l'Angleterre ce n'était pas tant la coopération de leurs flottes et de leurs armées que l'effet que produisait cette entente en montrant au monde qu'elle avait pour base les lois de la morale et pour but la résistance aux agressions injustes, la délivrance des opprimés des griffes des oppresseurs et la conservation de l'équilibre politique des États. Fallait-il donc renouveler les procédés que d'autres employèrent pour se partager la Pologne, et quel droit invoqueraient la France et l'Angleterre, qui venaient de défendre l'intégrité de son empire, pour arracher au sultan ses possessions africaines ? »

X

La Russie avait laissé à la France le soin de diminuer l'importance du traité de Paris. Mais la conduite flottante de Napoléon III, qui ne pouvait, malgré tout, se décider à sacrifier les avantages de toute sorte qu'il retirait de ses bonnes relations avec la Grande-Bretagne, ne lui laissant pas grand espoir de ce côté, obligea le Gouvernement russe à ne compter que sur ses propres moyens. Il entreprit de paralyser les efforts de l'administration ottomane dans l'application des réformes et des améliorations qu'elle voulait réaliser et se mit à attaquer à coup de notes diplomatiques l'édifice que l'alliance anglo-française avait fortifié, et finit ainsi par soulever d'abord les Grecs en Crète et plus tard les Slaves en Bosnie et en Herzégovine. Dans l'une comme dans l'autre de ces questions, l'Angleterre s'employa de toutes ses forces en notre faveur, et, pour ne parler que de la dernière, c'est à elle que nous avons dû le rejet et de la note Andrassy et du fameux mémorandum de Berlin. Si son bon vouloir ne parvint pas à nous épargner les conséquences du soulèvement, préparé de longue main, des populations slaves, la raison doit en être cherchée dans l'état général de l'Europe et dans l'impossibilité où l'Angleterre se trouva de nous soutenir de ses armes dans un moment où les événements si regrettables de Bulgarie provoquaient partout la plus vive indignation et facilitaient par là l'œuvre destructive de la politique russe. Tout ce que put l'Angleterre, dans cette circonstance critique, ce fut d'insister auprès de la Sublime Porte pour l'adoption immédiate des remèdes les plus propres à cicatriser les plaies ouvertes par la folle direc-

tion donnée à la politique intérieure de l'Empire après la mort d'Ali Pacha, et à apaiser l'opinion publique européenne ; et quand elle vit que des erreurs à jamais déplorables annulaient l'effet des réformes générales qui venaient d'être promulguées, en contradiction, il est vrai, avec les propositions des puissances, mais dont le libéralisme devait leur assurer la sympathie des peuples, elle ne perdit pas encore courage et sut pourvoir aux moyens de préserver la Turquie, condamnée à l'isolement, de l'écrasement total dont celle-ci était menacée.

L'histoire ne pourra jamais expliquer comment nous nous sommes lancés à la légère dans une guerre qui devait nous être funeste, alors que les déclarations réitérées du Gouvernement britannique qu'il n'y prendrait pas part auraient dû nous en détourner et que, par l'acceptation du protocole de Londres, nous pouvions si facilement l'éviter. On frémit en pensant à ce qui serait arrivé si l'Angleterre, avant l'ouverture et pendant le cours même des hostilités, n'avait avisé aux moyens de rendre impossible, à la suite de cette guerre, la disparition de la Turquie.

Désireuse de s'assurer la neutralité des Anglais, la Russie s'engagea, par les déclarations les plus solennelles de son souverain et de son gouvernement, à ne pas s'emparer de Constantinople et à ne toucher ni à l'Égypte ni à la vallée de l'Euphrate ou à Bassora ; elle promit même formellement que, dans le cas où la Turquie demanderait la paix, avant le passage des Balkans par les troupes russes, elle l'accorderait aussitôt et à des conditions certainement moins lourdes que celles que nous avons eues à subir. Le gouvernement de notre pays n'a pas su tirer parti de cette situation ; mais les Turcs n'ignorent pas que c'est l'attitude des Anglais qui l'avait créée, de même qu'ils sont convaincus que, si le traité de San Stéfano n'a pas été exécuté, ils le doivent uniquement à la présence, dans les eaux de Con-

stantinople, de la flotte britannique dont les canons étaient dirigés sur les Russes campés aux environs.

Après avoir écarté la Russie du Bosphore, la Grande-Bretagne travailla à l'établissement dans la Turquie d'Europe d'un ordre de choses conforme à l'intérêt général, et songea à l'avenir de nos provinces asiatiques restées à la discrétion de la Russie. Elle passa avec la Sublime Porte une convention par laquelle elle s'engageait à nous défendre contre toute agression future, sous la condition que nous introduirions dans les provinces des réformes radicales et devant profiter à tous leurs habitants, et que nous lui céderions l'île de Chypre, qui continuerait à rester sous la souveraineté du sultan, pour lui permettre de tenir, à proximité des côtes de l'Asie Mineure, son armée et sa flotte. Ce sacrifice n'a pas produit encore le bien que nous en attendions, mais la convention dont il s'agit contient, de l'avis de tous les Ottomans, un gage si précieux de l'extirpation des abus dont ils souffrent, et de la possibilité de rétablir les relations intimes d'autrefois avec l'Angleterre, qu'ils continuent à y rester attachés comme à une planche de salut.

XI

Abordons maintenant la question, vitale pour l'Islam, qui a présidé à l'établissement des rapports d'étroite amitié entre l'Angleterre et la Turquie.

A partir du jour où cette puissance a saisi toute l'importance qu'avait pour elle l'existence politique de l'Empire ottoman, où lord Chatham déclarait qu'« il tenait pour fou quiconque niait cette importance et qu'il refusait de lui adresser la parole », elle n'a plus cessé de concentrer toute son attention sur les deux grands centres des possessions turques : l'Égypte et les détroits.

L'ouverture du canal de Suez, en relevant encore la valeur, déjà si grande, de l'Égypte, ne pouvait qu'ajouter à l'intérêt qu'avaient les Anglais au maintien sur ce pays des droits souverains du Sultan ; et l'Angleterre, qui avait tant fait pour replacer Méhémet-Ali à son rang de gouverneur général et qui n'avait consenti à l'hérédité de cette fonction dans la famille du pacha qu'à la condition que lui et ses successeurs se conformeraient aux lois fondamentales de l'Empire et resteraient fidèles au trône ottoman, fut aussi la première à signaler le danger des privilèges accordés plus tard avec une coupable légèreté, et qui, par le changement apporté dans l'ordre de succession, pouvaient conduire à une autonomie nationale.

Lorsque la France, au lendemain presque du Congrès de Berlin, décida l'occupation de la Tunisie, menaçant la Sublime Porte d'un nouveau Navarin, si elle essayait de défendre ses droits sur ce vilayet, et qu'elle trahit par cet acte de spoliation ses velléités de domination

sur les côtes africaines, l'Angleterre dut s'en préoccuper sérieusement ; sa vigilance devint plus grande quand, peu après, éclata la révolte d'Arabi, laquelle puisait une gravité exceptionnelle dans la faiblesse relative de la Turquie sortant d'une guerre désastreuse et la crise financière que traversait le Gouvernement khédivial. Dès la première heure, cependant, elle considérait que l'emploi des forces ottomanes était le moyen le plus sûr de répression du mouvement insurrectionnel, alors que la France repoussait nettement toute action directe de la Porte en Égypte ; mais le Cabinet de St-James aurait probablement triomphé de la répugnance des Français à permettre fût-ce même le débarquement d'un seul soldat turc si les hésitations de la cour suzeraine et les négociations diplomatiques auxquelles elle donna lieu n'avaient pas, en faisant perdre un temps précieux, encouragé les espérances des chefs de la révolte au point d'obliger l'Angleterre à agir par elle-même pour les soumettre ; car l'escadre française, qui évoluait de conserve avec la flotte britannique le long des côtes égyptiennes, se sépara de cette dernière au moment décisif du bombardement d'Alexandrie. À la suite de cet événement, la conférence réunie à Constantinople décida d'inviter la Porte à expédier des troupes pour rétablir l'ordre dans cette province et accomplir ainsi son devoir de puissance souveraine, et, bien que cette décision fut prise à l'unanimité, on n'en eut pas moins la preuve, dans le cours des débats qu'elle provoqua à la Chambre des députés à Paris, que ce que voulait la France c'était d'abolir toute souveraineté du Sultan en Afrique et d'abattre l'influence qu'exerce le Khalifat sur les musulmans de ce continent ; le passage suivant du discours que prononça Gambetta à cette occasion en témoigne suffisamment :

« La Conférence pourra déléguer les Turcs. Je crois que c'est la pire des solutions, et c'était, à mon sens, un

point sur lequel il ne fallait pas céder que la question de l'intervention turque.

» Ramener le Turc aux pieds des Pyramides, c'est jouer avec le feu en Algérie et en Tunisie. Ramener le Turc sous le pavillon français, c'est dire à tout l'Orient que le khalife est devenu votre maître ; c'est abolir en un jour cinquante ans de notre politique ; cinquante ans ! mais je me trompe, car la France ne date pas d'un siècle, c'est abolir sa politique traditionnelle sur les bords du Nil. Moi, je vous accorde cet argent pour tenter ces aventures. Mais si jamais le Sultan redevient maître de l'Égypte, peut-être d'accord avec nos rivaux disposés à faire son jeu, eh ! bien, songez-y, Messieurs, je ne demande pas mieux que d'être démenti ; mais si, par malheur, je voyais le retour des bataillons réguliers du Sultan, du khalife au pied de la mosquée El-Ahzar, je crois fermement que vous pourriez dire adieu à tous vos rêves de réparation et de reconstitution de la colonie française en Égypte. »

Les sentiments de la France vis-à-vis de la Turquie et les intrigues de ceux qui, ayant intérêt à troubler nos bons rapports avec l'Angleterre, ont inspiré les erreurs commises chez nous, depuis le commencement des affaires d'Égypte, expliquent trop bien le but que poursuivait la diplomatie française lorsqu'elle conseillait avec tant d'insistance à Constantinople le rejet de la convention Drummond Wolf déjà signée et sanctionnée par la reine, pour qu'il soit nécessaire d'appuyer davantage ; d'ailleurs, les fautes qu'on n'a pas su éviter et les responsabilités qu'on n'a pas craint d'encourir dans cette question d'Égypte feront prochainement l'objet d'une brochure à part.

Plus l'Égypte est nécessaire à l'existence d'un État musulman et à l'autorité du Khalifat et plus la bonne harmonie entre cet État et l'Angleterre est indispensable. Supposer que la présence des Anglais au Caire

soit une raison suffisante pour justifier la nature actuelle de nos rapports avec eux serait un vrai malheur pour l'Islam et pour la Turquie; nous espérons, au contraire, nous sommes même persuadés que les circonstances accidentelles et passagères qui ont changé l'entente en discord ne tarderont pas à se modifier de façon à permettre que l'intérêt mutuel renoue solidement des liens qui n'auraient jamais dû se relâcher. Depuis dix-huit ans, l'Angleterre occupe militairement l'Égypte et y exerce une surveillance absolue sur l'administration; pourtant la situation de cette dernière par rapport au Khalifat et sa dépendance de l'Empire demeure intacte. L'autorité du khédive s'exerce pleinement, et, de plus, les progrès sont tels que l'ingérence étrangère, qui a un caractère légal en vertu des capitulations et qui y était plus rigoureuse que partout ailleurs au Levant, tend à disparaître. Les fondements d'un régime constitutionnel conforme à la prescription du Koran : *Consultez-vous sur vos affaires*, et sans lequel aucun État musulman ne pourra prospérer ni même exister, sont déjà posés. Les lois morales, les droits civils, la liberté individuelle, que la loi mahométane non moins que la civilisation occidentale exige, y sont en pleine vigueur. En outre, les faits sont là pour prouver qu'on y possède la liberté de la presse comme la liberté de pensée et de parole et qu'elles peuvent exister avec avantage en Orient et en pays musulman. Certes, les regrets et les plaintes de la presse musulmane, et ceux notamment de l'éditeur du *Al-Muayyet*, sont dignes de sympathie; mais qu'il nous soit permis de faire remarquer que ces cris du cœur sont une indication précieuse de la liberté qui est laissée à ceux qui les poussent de tout juger et de tout critiquer chez eux.

Sans doute, l'intervention de l'Angleterre en Égypte et les services qu'elle rend au progrès de son peuple a pour principal mobile l'intérêt du commerce et la sécurité des grandes voies maritimes de cette puissance. Mais,

d'autre part, les avantages qu'elle y trouve à ce point de vue sont largement compensés par ceux que nous-mêmes lui devons, qu'une entente plus étroite avec elle serait un véritable bienfait pour le monde islamique et la plus sûre des garanties pour l'existence de l'Empire ottoman ; car nous ne devons pas oublier que c'est le fez sur la tête et précédés, du croissant que les Anglais marchent en avant pour l'extension du territoire égyptien, ou, ce qui revient au même, du territoire ottoman, et le rattachement durable du Soudan, cette contrée si essentiellement mahométane de l'Afrique.

XII

Arrivés à ce point de notre travail, nous croyons qu'il n'est pas inutile de jeter un rapide coup d'œil sur la manière juste et humaine dont les Anglais administrent leurs colonies et possessions.

A ne considérer que les Indes, il suffira de rappeler les termes admirables de sagesse, d'équité et de prévoyance dont s'est servi lord Derby, il y a un demi siècle, lors du passage de l'administration de cette vaste contrée des mains de la Compagnie à celles du Gouvernement de la reine, pour faire comprendre l'esprit dont est animée l'Angleterre envers les populations placées sous son sceptre : « Je sais, disait l'illustre ministre, que les Indiens ne sont pas encore mûrs pour les institutions européennes. Mais ce que j'admets, dès aujourd'hui, c'est que nous sommes obligés, dans l'intérêt de l'humanité, de la morale et de la religion, de leur promettre de participer à l'administration de leur pays dans la mesure du possible et de la prudence. Je suis convaincu que ces peuples, sous la surveillance de l'autorité et sous la garantie des lois anglaises, finiront par apprécier, imiter et surpasser peut-être un jour nos lois. Si, par la possession graduelle du droit de prendre part à leurs affaires locales, ils étendaient leurs aspirations et revendiquaient des droits politiques; si, dis-je, leurs aspirations arrivaient au point de provoquer la chute de notre formidable Empire aux Indes, par le fait que nous serions parvenus à délivrer toute une nation du joug de la barbarie et de celui des superstitions et de leur enseigner le respect de la loi et la manière de l'administrer, nous

aurions lieu d'en être fiers et les Indiens nous seraient reconnaissants ».

Ce programme libéral et civilisateur, l'Angleterre l'a suivi depuis lors, sans la moindre déviation. La grande rébellion de 1857 elle-même, si promptement réprimée, n'a fait que stimuler son zèle. La tranquillité était à peine rétablie que la reine, par une proclamation, ouvrait aux indigènes, sujets britanniques, les carrières de l'État, et, depuis lors, le Gouvernement de la métropole prouve par ses actes qu'il se sent responsable non seulement du bien-être matériel, mais encore du développement moral et intellectuel de la population si nombreuse de cet immense pays. Élever l'indigène de l'Inde au sentiment complet de sa dignité d'homme, l'habituer à gouverner lui-même dans sa commune, l'introduire dans les tribunaux, le préparer graduellement aux fonctions administratives les plus élevées et le rendre ainsi apte à prendre part un jour à la direction des grandes affaires de son pays, voilà la mission que s'est attribuée là-bas l'administration anglaise et qu'elle remplit avec une activité égale à sa générosité.

Lord Ripon, l'un des plus distingués parmi les vice-rois des Indes, esprit libéral et aux vues très larges, estimait qu'il ne suffisait pas que les Anglais trouvasent leur compte dans la possession de la vaste presqu'île, qu'il fallait aussi que ses habitants apprissent à se passer de l'Angleterre.

C'est avec cette idée qu'il a créé un embryon de self-government qui est en voie de croissance et qui se distingue par les traits suivants :

Au degré le plus bas de l'échelle administrative, on a laissé à l'agglomération rurale, au village, son caractère propre avec son tribunal arbitral, sa coutume particulière, sa propriété indivisée, son auberge, son prêtre, son comptable et son garde. À cette antique institution, lord Ripon a superposé une nouvelle organisation.

Elle se compose des *Local Boards* ou conseils cantonaux et des *District Boards* ou conseils d'arrondissements et de province. Ces *Local Boards* sont formés en grande partie par voie d'élection, ils désignent dans une proportion notable les membres qui siègent dans les assemblées du degré supérieur. L'élément natif se fortifie tous les jours, et plus d'un millier de villes ont reçu des institutions municipales. Le principe de la représentation élective a pénétré jusque dans le Conseil législatif qui entoure le vice-roi et les gouverneurs de Bombay et de Madras.

Si les pouvoirs locaux n'ont pas encore donné de résultats nettement appréciables, les délibérations du Congrès, au contraire, ont été, dès le premier jour, vivement éclairées par les discussions contradictoires de la presse. Ce mouvement n'est pas dû à l'action directe du Gouvernement. Certains Anglais, amis du progrès et des Indes, s'en réjouissent et voient dans le Congrès le « réveil de l'Inde », le commencement d'une « vie nationale », « une grande force qui travaille non à la dissolution, mais bien à la consolidation de l'Empire ». Cette réunion a lieu, tous les ans, dans une des grandes villes de l'Inde : le nombre des délégués varie de six cents à douze cents.

Le Congrès discute plusieurs questions et, après avoir entendu deux ou trois membres parmi les plus influents, passe aux voix et vote une résolution.

Si une bonne réforme a été introduite dans le courant de l'année, on la salue d'une expression de gratitude collective; si une loi d'un avantage douteux a fait son apparition dans le statut, on la discute, on suggère des correctifs et des amendements; on examine d'anciens griefs, on signale de nouveaux besoins. Administration, travaux d'utilité publique, impôts, éducation, hygiène et assistance publiques, législation industrielle et commerciale, secours propres à soulager la famine, à circonscrire la peste, à étendre le bien-être, l'instruction et

la liberté, le Congrès fait l'examen rapide de tous ces problèmes et le tour de l'Inde sociale et politique.

Sous ce régime de liberté, la religion islamique elle-même se propage avec une facilité et une rapidité qui tiennent du prodige. Les marchands et artistes musulmans prêchent la foi de l'Islam à leurs apprentis et à leurs confrères, et les cheiks et hadjis dans les marchés et les places publiques. Un certain hadji Mohammed, dans l'espace de deux ans, est parvenu à convertir 200 mille Indous.

Kazi Nasrabad Safder Ali a converti toute la corporation des serruriers de Kandesh. A Calcutta, à Bombay, à Benkialur et dans les autres villes importantes, il y a des chaires spéciales pour prêcher l'Islam qui attirent une multitude d'auditeurs parmi lesquels figurent aussi des Européens : le nombre des convertis dans les dix dernières années a dépassé trois millions.

Les conditions si favorables où se trouve l'Islam pour se propager aux Indes remplissent de joie le cœur des musulmans de tous les pays, et le Khalifat, pour en témoigner sa reconnaissance, envoya, il y a une trentaine d'années, aux Indes et dans l'Afghanistan, une ambassade spéciale, sous le kadiasker Ahdmet Houloussi Effendi, avec mission de faire connaître aux notables, aux chefs et aux ulémas les relations amicales qui existaient entre le commandeur des croyants et l'Angleterre et leur démontrer que le monde musulman aurait tout à gagner du maintien de ces relations et beaucoup à perdre du refroidissement qu'elles subiraient par suite des intrigues de ceux qui ont intérêt à les troubler.

Le Khalifat appréciait ainsi à sa juste valeur et avec un sens politique profond l'amitié de l'Angleterre ; les événements qui se sont produits depuis et le courant qui prédomine aujourd'hui chez nous ne sauraient en rien affaiblir la portée de cette appréciation, juste en tout temps, et qui devrait être la règle invariable de notre conduite.

L'obstacle qu'opposait naguère l'Europe occidentale aux visées ambitieuses, et menaçantes pour l'équilibre général, d'une grande puissance est, à cette heure, sinon brisé, du moins considérablement affaibli. La France, que ses institutions et la forme de son gouvernement devraient faire la protectrice de la liberté et l'ennemie du despotisme, s'est en quelque sorte soumise à cette puissance qui en est l'incarnation; elle semble prête à lui sacrifier l'indépendance des peuples de l'Orient, tant musulmans que chrétiens, elle que ces peuples aimaient à considérer comme animée du désir de leur assurer cette liberté dont elle a été longtemps l'apôtre; elle fait ce qu'elle peut pour fortifier le soupçon qu'elle en veut à l'existence elle-même du Khalifat, ce lien commun entre les musulmans.

Pour se bien rendre compte de ce que vaut l'administration coloniale anglaise, principalement dans les pays musulmans, il est bon de lui comparer celle de certains autres grands États: on en sentira mieux le prix quand on aura mis, en regard du système anglais, celui appliqué, par exemple, par la France dans la plus importante des contrées de l'Afrique musulmane.

La France possède depuis 70 ans l'Algérie et pourtant les quatre millions de musulmans de ce pays, qui, de fait, est actuellement territoire français, non seulement ne jouissent pas de droits politiques, mais sont exclus de toute participation au gouvernement local; l'administration civile et municipale est confiée uniquement aux Français d'origine, aux étrangers et aux Israélites indigènes naturalisés qui constituent une faible minorité.

La majorité musulmane est tellement privée de tout droit que pas un de ses membres ne siège dans les Conseils généraux où six assesseurs, nommés directement par le gouverneur général, sont seuls admis avec voix consultative.

Les autorités disposent à leur gré des terres et les exproprient sans aucune procédure légale ni indemnité

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établie par voie judiciaire. Que de propriétés ont été ainsi arrachées aux Arabes pour être données à des Français qui, ne pouvant les cultiver eux-mêmes, les ont louées à des indigènes devenus de la sorte les fermiers de leurs propres biens ! Les dispositions draconiennes du code d'indigénat restent toujours en vigueur ; le pays dans sa plus grande étendue continue à être placé sous le régime militaire.

Loin de nous la pensée de nier les sentiments innés de justice et d'humanité qui caractérisent la noble nation française, et nous sommes heureux de rendre ici hommage à l'esprit de générosité et de tolérance qui a marqué les premières années de l'occupation de l'Algérie : les mahométans du monde entier se rappellent encore avec reconnaissance qu'à ce moment la France y faisait bâtir des mosquées avant même d'élever des églises ; que, chaque année, par les soins et aux frais du Gouvernement français, les pèlerins étaient transportés au Hedjaz ; que des rebelles dont les mains avaient trempé dans le sang français étaient reçus à merci avec la plus admirable magnanimité ; mais le souvenir de ces bienfaits n'en rend que plus douloureuse la constatation du changement survenu dans la manière de procéder de la France à l'égard des Algériens, on n'en souffre que davantage de voir les établissements de charité qu'avaient les Arabes, tels que hospices, écoles, etc., réduits à la misère par suite du détournement de leur destination primitive des revenus qui y étaient affectés. Comment ne pas déplorer la suppression des écoles arabes et leur remplacement par des écoles françaises, supprimées en partie à leur tour, et ne pas relever avec un sentiment voisin de l'indignation qu'une population de quatre millions d'âmes ne dispose, pour son instruction, que du modique subside de cent mille francs qui lui est servi annuellement par le gouvernement français ? A part le journal arabe consacré aux publications officielles, aucun autre journal ne peut paraître dans cette langue : c'est que

les Français semblent s'être arrêtés à cette idée qu'il convient, au lieu d'éclairer l'indigène, d'éteindre le peu de lumière qu'il possède ; et ce qui prévaut dans les conseils du Gouvernement de la France, c'est la doctrine qui y a été hautement professée que l'Arabe est descendu au dernier degré de la dépravation et du vice, que la foi mahométane est un obstacle à l'expansion de la civilisation, qu'il faut, par conséquent, non pas tâcher de la fixer au sol, mais plutôt l'en repousser petit à petit pour le supplanter par l'Européen, et, en attendant, le tenir par la force dans la soumission et l'obéissance.

Les considérations et les aperçus qui précèdent ont mis en évidence, pensons-nous, et le libéralisme dont l'Angleterre s'inspire dans ses rapports avec les peuples de toute race et de toute religion qu'elle gouverne, et plus particulièrement avec les peuples musulmans, et le contraste frappant que présentent ses procédés comparés à ceux d'autres nations exerçant un contrôle analogue sur des contrées qu'elles se sont annexées.

Il serait par conséquent oiseux de vouloir ajouter à cette démonstration en décrivant en détail l'administration de la Hollande et de la Russie dans les pays où elles se sont établies ; on en aura assez dit si l'on rappelle que la première tient les populations de ses colonies, presque toutes musulmanes, sous le joug insupportable du monopole d'État accaparant le produit de leur travail. Quant à la seconde, dans l'hypothèse même qu'elle modifierait les principes de sa politique en adoucissant ses procédés envers les populations hétérodoxes, la nécessité où elle est d'avancer toujours dans sa marche envahissante du Nord au Sud, pour arriver aux contrées et aux mers qu'elle convoite, l'obligera fatalement à écraser les peuples purement mahométans établis dans la zone qui la sépare de ces contrées et en supprimer l'indépendance.

Si les Indes passaient un jour sous la domination moscovite, si le drapeau russe devait flotter sur la Médi-

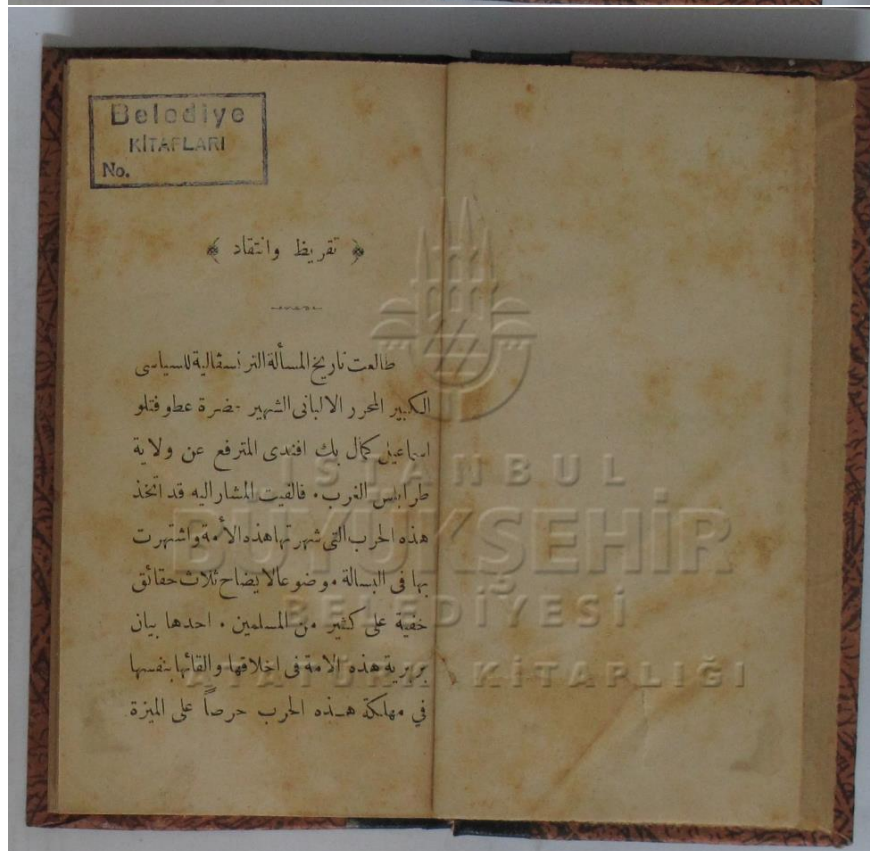
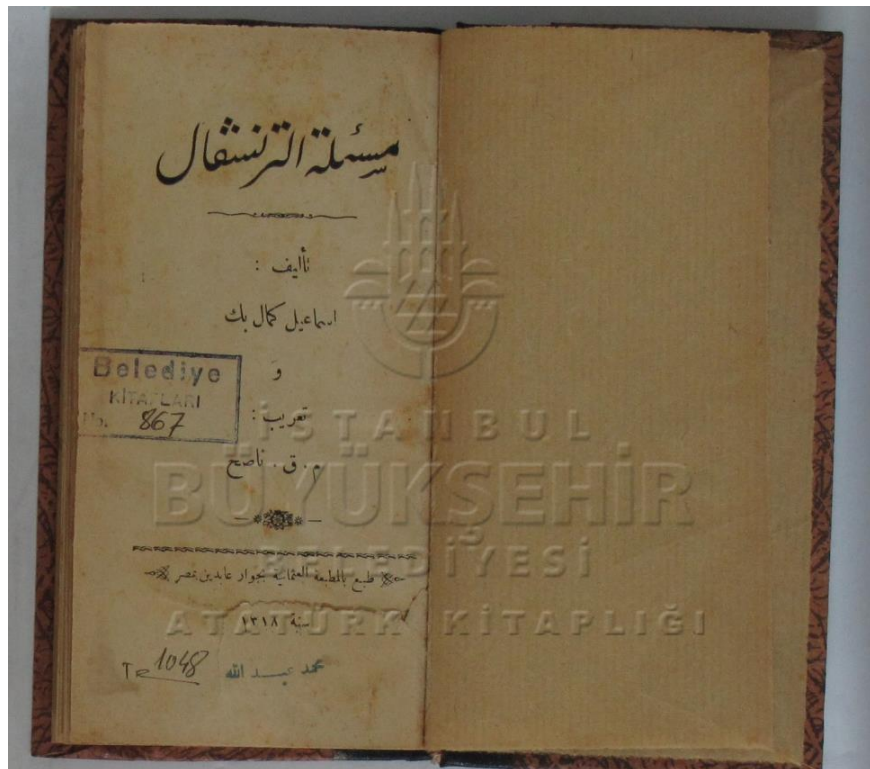
terrannée, la mer Rouge et l'Océan Indien, c'en serait fait de l'Empire ottoman, de la Perse et de l'Afghanistan, et la reconstitution d'un État musulman deviendrait un rêve irréalisable.

Nous le répétons, en concluant, les vrais amis de la civilisation doivent souhaiter le succès du gigantesque effort de l'Angleterre en Asie et dans les autres continents, et les peuples opprimés, surtout les musulmans, dans leur désir d'atteindre à tout leur développement moral et politique, doivent concentrer en elle tout leur espoir de salut.

Appendix VI. Front and back cover of *La Question du Transvaal ou le Role Civilisateur de l'Angleterre Jugé au Point de vue Musulman*. London: Forgotten Books, 2018.



Appendix VII. *Mas'ala al-Transfal*. Translated by Hoca Kadri Nasih. Cairo: Matbaa-i Osmaniye, 1901.



الفاحشة على الاقوام المساكنة لها وتعصباً
عليها تعصباً مذهبياً وجنسياً مما هو عار على
الانسانية التي لا تفاضل بين بنينا الا في العلم
والحلم مستندة الى امتلاك الارض بالسبق
وحكمها بالقوة مع ان الزمان قد نبه الانسان
الى ان بسائط الكون اى مائدة الطبيعة خلقها
واهب النعم جل جلاله لمنفعة الكل وابعثها
لجميع كالارض والكلاء والغابات والمعادن
والانهر والينابيع والبحار وما حوت فلا يملك
الانسان منها الا ما سبق اليه وكان بقدر
 حاجته او عمات فيه يداه .
والحقيقة الثانية هي اثباته ان مصلحة
الامة الانكليزية اى تجارتها التي بها قيام

حياتها جعلتها وتجعلها اكثر الامم حبا للعدل
والعمران وبنصاً لامتداد شوكة الاستبداد
حتى صار ذلك خلقاً لها ولهذا كانت ولا تزال
هذه الامة الصديقة الوحيدة للدولة العثمانية
الحاجزة بين الروس والبحر المتوسط .

والحقيقة الثالثة هي استدلاله على ان
هذه المصلحة استلزم وتستلزم دائماً ان
تكون الحكومة الانكليزية هي صاحبة
النفوذ الاكبر في الشرق وان توالى المسلمين
لانهم العنصر الاعم فيه .

وهذه الحقائق أمور مهمة لم يبق حضرة
المؤلف فيها شكاً لغافل او مستريب وانما ينتقد
عليه ابتداءه في هذا المؤلف بالقسم الاقل

﴿ مسألة الترنسفال ﴾

لقد اشغلت حرب الترنسفال التي
اقتحتها دولة انكلترا اهل الشرق عموماً
والعالم الاسلامي خصوصاً من حيث اهتموا
بها فوق العادة .

ان الامة الانكليزية باعتبار معتقداتها
الدينية ومذاهبها السياسية ومنافعها التجارية
واملاصها الواسعة واوضاع ومواقع
مستعمراتها الكثيرة يجوز ان تعتبر قوة
محركة مخلوقة من عند الله ونفخة فيض منه

اهمية عند المطالعين الشرقيين المعروفين بالملل
في المطالعة فلو كان قدم ما اخر لكان اولى
وانفع . وعلى كل حال يحق علينا شكره لاسيما
وقد عرفناه صاحب لوائح الانذارات التي
قدمها لحضرة السلطان عبد الحميد وصدقها
المستقبل ولا غرو ان يكون بين المسلمين
والانكليز ما كان بين نبيهم عليه السلام وبين
الجبشة من الرابطة السياسية والولاء .

ع . ك .

سبحانه وتعالى لتكون خادمة لاعادة مجد الشرق وحضارته ومهيئة لمكنة اتحاد الاقوام المسلمين واتساعهم جاهاً وشرفاً .

هذه الامة الانكليزية من يوم خلعت ربقة سلطة البابا عن عنقها ورمت بها جانباً وكسرت سلسلة الاسر الذي كونه كانون « انكليزييون » الموقد المحرق الارواح فانقذت آلاف آلاف من النفوس البشرية من قيد استعباد اسبانيا قد اختارت لها خطة مستقيمة هي الاجتهاد في الاقتراب من الامة الاسلامية واججاد حياة قوية في الشرق بتأسيس دولة مستقلة تطيق ان تكون مدار الاستقرار لتوازن شؤون العالم ذاتاً وادارة

حكماً وقوة فمن ذلك اليوم أى منذ ثمانية سنة ما برحت هاته الامة النبيلة تسمى في هذه المحجة متبعة هذا المقصد .

منذ اتخذ سلاطين آل عثمان القسطنطينية ماصمةً للسلطنة وجعلوها مركزاً للخلافة ونصبوا اسطراب الادارة العثمانية على الاثافي الثلاث المتشكلة من الاقسام المهمة والمنازلة لقارات اسيا واوربا وافريقية مع ذلك فقد وقع انقلاب وأى انقلاب في توازن العالم السياسي العام بحيث ان ملوك أوروبا كلهم رؤا تيجانهم مهددة وعروشهم منقلقة بالاضطراب فانفتحت الدول الغربية جميعها بسائق التعصب وداعى حفظ القومية

على اعداد حملة صليبية ثانية للقيام على الدولة العثمانية التي نظرت اليها الدول بأنها ناشرة الدين الاسلامي .

في مدة قرنين (مائتي عام) اى من يوم موقعة « اينه بختي » التي انتهت بها دور استيلاء الدولة وابتداء دور انحطاطها قد حدث التثبت مرتين بين الدول للحصول على تحالف عام بينها يبيد الدولة العثمانية ويحول بالاسلام .

ففي المرة الاولى اقترح هنري الرابع على دول اوربا تشكيل جمهورية عظيمة مركبة من الاقوام المسيحية عموماً وترتيب وسوق قوة جندية مختلطة متجانسة تستطيع

ازالة الدولة العثمانية من ساحة الوجود « وكس العناصر الاسلامية من أوربا والرمي بها الى صحارى آسيا » وهنرى الرابع هذا ملك الفرنسيين هو الذى حافظ على حياة فرنسا السياسية وأمنها بما اكتسبه من مظاهره الملوك العثمانيين وتعاضدهم وهو الذى تغلب على أعدائه الالاء بالاقتدار والنفوذ اللذين منحتهما له قوة الترك البحرية التي وجدت تحت امره عدة سنين والقت الخوف والرعب في قلوب أعدائه وخصومه .

تصور هنرى هذا الخدير بان يعد كفرنراً بالجميل والمعروف والذي هو غير ممكن التطبيق على منافع فرنسا الخصوصية لم يخرج

من القوة الى الفعل لا لضرية يد «را وياق»
اي قاتله المعهود بل لا متناع المملكة «اليزابت»
اي ملكة الانكاي في ذلك الوقت من
الاشترك في الاثم المقترح] .

وأما في المرة الثانية فقد عقد اسكندر
الاول قيصر الامة الروسية مع من عقد
اتفاقاً سماه مقدساً لاجل هذا المقصد عنه
وسمى وراءه كثير ولكن اعراض (جورج)
نائب ملك انكلترا عن وضع امضائه عليه
منعه من اقتطاف الاثمار من اتفاقه المقدس .

فمثل هذه الحقائق التاريخية ومسالك
الخنو والتطبيب الذي اتخذته انكلترا سواء
نحو ما ينيف على السبعين مليوناً من المساكين

الذين جعلتهم تحت حكمها أو اظلمهم بحمايتها
السياسية مع ما تبديه لهم من الاحساسات
المرية لحرية الضمائر والافكار قد وجه ذلك
الى انكلترا أنظار أهل الاسلام عامة أينما
وجدوا في الدنيا وجعلهم ضرورياً يتمنون لها
النجاح في أعمالها في كل مكان وعلى كل حال
ولا سيما نحن العثمانيين فانه لا يسعنا وقتاً
ما ان نبقى أجنب غير مهتمين بالمسائل العائدة
بازدياد مقدرة انكلترا فتى اريق دم الانكاي
في جانب من جوانب الارض فلا محالة يثور
تأثرنا ويأخذ منا الهياج مأخذاً واسعاً . تروح
وتعدو امامنا ذكرى الدماء الانكليزية التي
ارقت في سبيل المحافظة على أرض وطننا العزيز

والمدافعة عن حقوق دولتنا المقدسة واختلطت
بدماء الشهداء العثمانيين وبها امنزجت .
وتدور على خواطرنا المآثر المتخيلة الممهدة
الآمال وهي التي تتضمنها تلك الذكرى النافعة
فنود النظر في ماضينا المجيد بالافتخار وفي
مستقبلنا السعيد بالاعتماد .

ان الشجاعة والمثانة التي اظهرتها
شراذم البوير المردين ان يحولوا بين انكلترا
وتصوراتها الخيرية مع مشروعاتها السامية
المقاصد في خدمة الحضارة قد بعثت عواطف
التقدير والاستحياس في الناس فاخذ الذين
يحسدون انكلترا على ما احرزته من مآثر
الاقتدار والشرف وخصوصاً منهم الذين

ينتظرون استكمال نواقص امتهم في زوالها
يتمنون ظفر البوير على بريطانيا العظمى أملاً
ان ذلك يكون مقدمة لانحطاطها وسقوطها
من سماء المجد والوقار .

أما نحن فننكح الى الايام ان تكشف
عاقبة هذه الامة ومصيرها الاخير اذا الايام
تبدي السرائر والحقايا من عالم الغيب ولها
المزية والاستطاعة على اظهار ما في مخفبات
الصحائف اعلم الكتاب الازلي الابدی
المحتجب عن عيوننا وانما نكتفي بالبحث
والثقب عن جهات المسألة المتعلقة بمنافع
الاسلام والمدينة من حيث الروابط بينهما
وبين هذه الامة العظيمة المملكة من القوة

والشوكة ما لم يعهد له مثل الخائزة ذروة
المجد الاسنى الفائزة بمتقنات الامور وعظائمها
مثل اخذها تحت ادارتها والى حضانتها مئات
ملايين من بنى البشر وفتحها سبيل الارتقاء
للانسانية بأسرها .

ان دولة الاندلس الاسلامية لما انقرضت
ازال زوالها غم استيلاء الاسلام عن العالم
النصرانى وترك الاقوام الغربية فى سرور
وجور وفى غشون ذلك قد فتح المرحوم
السلطان محمد الفاتح القسطنطينية وكانت
منبعاً مشرقاً للمدينة العيسوية ومركزاً
ثانياً الادارة النصرانية الروحانية فالقى السلطان
الفاتح اوربا فى لجة الحيرة العميقة .

فبينما قام الملوك فى اوربا ورؤساء
الاقوام وفى رئاستهم البابا بتدبير ما يمكن
ان يسد انتشار الملة الاسلامية ويصد عنهم
استيلاءها كان ملك البرتغال « ژوام » الثانى
وقد اشتهر بالمكتشفات البرية والبحرية
واكتسب شوكة عظيمة بتوسيع ملكه ممتداً
من جهة باعداد العدد واتمام الاسباب لدفع
اضرار المسلمين وابادة العناصر الاسلامية
فى السواحل البرية وكان من جهة اخرى
يفتش عن صديق حتى فى اواسط افريقيا
الداخلية والاقطار الشرقية يقدر على ضرب
الاسلام بيد خصومته واعتدائه . وفى
الحقيقة حينما كان مروياً وجود حاكم فى

الهند جامع بين الصفة الروحانية والقوة
الجسمانية قد تأيدت هذه الرواية اكثر تارة
اخرى بما أتى به من الاخبار امراء البرتغال
البحريون الذين اكتشفوا شواطئ افريقية
الغربية وعلى الخصوص بما جاء به من المعلومات
السفراء الذين بعث بهم حاكم « بن » فنظراً
الى هذه الاخبار والمعلومات قد علم انه
يوجد حاكم فى بلدة بينها وبين « بن » مسافة
عشرين شهراً يرجع اليه ملوك افريقية عموماً
بماله من السلطين الروحانية والجسمانية
اى الدينية والديوية وانه منتم الى الدين
العيسوى بدليل انه يرسل الصليب عدا التاج
والعصا الى حكام افريقية الذين يتربعون

فى دست الحكم علامة لتصديقه حق حكمهم
وسلطنتهم فلم يبق شك فى ان ذلك الحاكم
هو « پرست زانى » اى الراهب يانى الذى
سمع به الملك « ژوام » الثانى منذ زمان بعيد
وكثيراً ما اشتاق وتكالك فى احداث العلائق
الودية بينه وبينه فاعدت بامره فى الحال
هيئة اكتشاف وارسلت تحت قيادة الاميرال
الشهير المسمى « بارتلمو دياز » (اغستوس
سنة ١٤٨٦) لاكتشاف مملكة الراهب الملك
وقاعدة حكمه .

فهنه الهيئة الاكتشافية التى جهزت
بقصد توخى رفع الاسلام وازالته وصلت
توّاً الى « بن » ثم اخذت تسير متعقبة

سواحل أفريقية مصادفة في خلال السير
والسفر مشاق وخطاراً حتى وصلت أخيراً
إلى الحد المتكون منه رأس الزاوية لمثلث
أفريقية .

ولما كانت هذه البعثة الاكتشافية
ملت شدة البحر المتلاطم الأمواج وارتفعت
من مناظر البر المقلق البال ومسارحه المكدرة
ومن خشونة سكانه الطبيعية لم تتجاسر على
التقدم إلى الامام فعادت من حيث أتت
وسمت تلك النقطة المهمة رأس الانواء .
وأما الملك « زوام » فانه وان تأثر جدا
لعدم وصوله إلى مقصده بالتنام بدل اسم
رأس الانواء بالرجاء الصالح وكان قد جهز

هيئة اكتشاف ثانية سيرها خلفه لوفاته
تحت رئاسة « واسقوده غاما » الشهير الذي
وصل إلى نقطة الرجاء الصالح بعد اتعاب
كثيرة ثم واصل السير والسفر على الدوام
حتى اكتشف الساحل الذي كان هو أول
من سماه « ناتال » ثم مر بشواطئ أفريقية
الشرقية وكان العرب قد استولوا عليها قبلا
ومدنوها وهنا أخذ معه عدة أدلاء من
ملاحى العرب الذين اعتادوا الذهاب إلى
الهند والياب منها ووصل الهند نهائياً فنال
نجاحاً عظيماً بهذا الوجه إذ فتح طريقاً مهماً
كبيراً للمواصلات البحرية بين الشرق
والغرب .

وأهمية نقطة الرجاء الصالح الموضعية
وان كانت فائقة الوصف لم يرغب فيها احد
في مدة قرن ونصف بعد اكتشافها . وقد
قام بعض الملاحين الجائين المارين هناك أحياناً
بوضع اليد عليها وفي (سنة ١٦٢٠) احتل
الانكليز رأس الرجاء الصالح باسم الملك « ثاق »
ثم انسحبوا منه فبقي مهملًا متروكاً إلى ان
احتله الهولنديون . وفي تاريخ سنة ١٦٥٢
وجهت هولندة إلى رأس الرجاء الصالح
الدكتور المسمى « وان ريه بيك » الذي انتقته
لهذا الامر مع افراد عائلته ونحو مئة عسكري
مستبدلين لايجاد مستعمرة قوية وتسهيل
المواصلات البحرية وتأمين معاملات الشركة

الشرقية . وهذه الشريعة لما وطئت قدمها
رأس الرجاء الصالح شرعت حالاً في انشاء
قلعة عبارة عن الجدران فقط للتحصن وفي
بناء أكواخ بسيطة حوالها في المحل الموجودة
فيه الآن مدينة « كاب تاؤن » وفي قتال القبائل
الزنجية التي كانت تمت واغتصاب ما كان
للقبائل من الاموال والاملاك واسر كل من
وصلت اليه يدها من الرجال والنساء فتمكنت
هاته الشريعة بمثل هذه الاطوار هناك وباشرت
الزراعة والقلاحة ثم ارسلت اليهم من خلفهم
عدة مات من فتيات « آمستردام » اليتيمات
وبهذا حصل تمكين هذه المستعمرة الجديدة
النشأة من دوام التناسل بينها كما ان بضع

مئات عائلة من متشردي اوروبا ومن
بروتستنت فرانسوا الذين اضطروا الى مغادرة
الوطن بسبب تضيق حكومتهم وشدة
وطأها عليهم جاءت الى رأس الرجاء الصالح
والتحقت ثمت بالهولنديين .

فان ازدادت بسبب ذلك نفوس
المستعمرة ازدياداً مهماً في مدة قليلة فهؤلاء
القوم بما كانوا يقضون اكثر اوقاتهم
باصطياد انسان افريقية وحيواناتها قد بعثت
الشركة السالفة الذكر اليهم بعدة سفن
مشحونة عبيداً واسارى من الزوج لقضاء
حاجاتهم الزراعية وكذلك نفت حكومة
هولنده الى رأس الرجاء ما بعد بمئات من

ذوى الوجاهة والشرف من بيوتات مسلحي
جزيرة « سوند » الكبيرة واكرهتهم على
ان يكونوا خدماً وعبيداً لتلك الشرذمة .
ان افراد هذه الطائفة البويرية الموامنة
بسفك الدماء وتخريب البلاد بحيث تستحق
الوصف بانها سبهم القضاء القتال لقبائل
الزوج وسيل البلاء الهطال على تلك الربوع
والاصقاع ما كان غنم مايدل على سوء فكر
او حسن مزينة او سيرة بل كانوا يتذكرون
التعصب الديني والمناقشات المذمومة والصدمات
الدوية التي كانت من بقايا القرون الوسطى
وفضلاً عن ذلك فقد زادت آلام المهجران
الابدى عن الوطن الاصلى وغرابة احوال

الاصقاع التي اختاروها وسماجة اطوار اهلها
غلظة اخرى على خشونة طبعهم وقد اتخذوا
من كل ما كانوا قادرين على قراءته من
كتبهم المقدسة ما يلائم اهواءهم وخصوصاً
قصص يوشع النبي دستوراً لاعمالهم وبدرقة
لحركاتهم فاستباحوا دم كل انسان غير تابع
لدينهم واعتقدوا ماله حلالاً لهم سواء كان
ملحداً او ملائياً او زنجياً او قاطناً او اجنبياً اذ لم
يكن منهم وعلى دينهم ومذهبهم وكانوا
يتفاخرون بانهم يعملون عملاً صالحاً موافقاً
لمرضاته تعالى لانهم يقتلون بسيوفهم السفاكة
الدم كل من يصادفونه من ذوى الارواح
منفرداً او غير منفرد انما كان ولائهم

يستخدمون كالبهائم ما بعد بالوف . وثانة من
الصبيان والولدان وقد اختطفوهم من حجور
الامهات والآباء الذين ذبحوا بخناجر الفتك
المصوبة في صدورهم من قبل هؤلاء البوير .
ففي مدة قرن ونصف قرن امتدت
اثارها هذه الهمجية والبربرية انقرض وباد
نحو عشرة عناصر اقوام يبلغ عدد نفوسها مليوناً
على الاقل في هذه القطعة المشككة منها الآن
مستعمرة الرجاء الصالح وخصوصاً وجهاء
مسلحي « ملائي » المساكين الذين كانوا القوا
الحياة في ارغد عيش والنعمة مستخدماً كل
منهم خدماً وحشماً قد خلتهم الدهر فوقعو امن
سوء الحظ اسارى لهؤلاء الوحوش القاسية

قلوبهم فذهب بعضهم ضحايا لشدة الهم والنهم
وفقد الباقون لغتهم وعاداتهم القومية حتى
نسوا فرائضهم الدينية ولم يقدروا على ان
يحفظوا الا اصولهم الجنسي وبعض ما تركه
متسمين باسماء المسلمين فقط فبعد ان اصبحت
هكذا جهات افريقية الجنوبية التي صارت
مجالاً خلق يسمى البوير مقبرة عامة سوداء
وعادت خراباً بلقما ونموذجاً معرض المصائب
والدواهي دخلت تحت ادارة انكترافعتها
من هذا التاريخ اخذت احوال افريقية
الجنوبية حتى معاملات الدنيا السياسية دور
تجدد وارتقاء. ان انكترافدشمرت منذ زمان
طويل بالاحتياج لاحتلال رأس الرجال الصالح

لكي تستطيع المحافظة على المواصلات البحرية
لمستعمرتها الجسيمة الهندية وعلى تأمين
الارتباط بين قواها البحرية التي تبقىها في
البحرين الهندي والمحيط حتى انها كانت قد
ارسلت بتاريخ سنة « ١٨٧٠ » اسطولاً لثلاث
الغاية ولكنها لم تنظر بالتمكن والبقاء في رأس
الرجاء لمقاومة الاسطول الفرنسي لها حرباً
والانضمام عسكر فرنسا الى الهولنديين فيه
ومعاونتهم لهم قلباً وقالباً ولكن من حيث
ان نيران اميال فرنسا سريعة الانطفاء كما انها
سريعة الالتهاب لم يمض من الزمان الا قليل
حتى استولت فرنسا على هولندا بالتام .
هذه فرنسا التي قامت بحاربة انكترابالامس

لاجل المحافظة على هولندا ومستعمراتها
فاستفادت انكترا من هذا الامر ومن
ثوران البوير في الارحاء الداخلية لرأس الرجاء
وانفذت اسطولاً احتلت به رأس الرجاء سنة
(١٧٩٥) غير ان عهدة « آميس » الزمت
بريطانيا العظمى برد رأس الرجاء لحكومة
« بطاويا » ولكن لم يدم حكمها الا قليلاً .
ولقد صادقت عهدة « فينا » الدولية
على حق انكترا في امتلاك رأس الرجاء فعاد
مستعمرة لها من ذلك اليوم الى يومنا هذا .
فلما تقرررت الادارة الانكليزية هناك كان
امراً محتوماً طبيعياً حسم اعمال البوير الطغاة
القاتكين بالارواح وقطع دابر ظلمهم بالقضاء

على غاراتهم الوحشية المتوالية وفي الواقع لقد
شرعت الادارة الانكليزية في اول الامر
بتمنح مساعدات بقدر الامكان تشكفيل
بالحرية الشخصية للمسلمين الملائين الذين
كانوا مستخدمين في الاعمال الشاقة
ومحرومين من الحقوق الانسانية كلها
وللابراء الزنج الاهليين ايضاً . واما البوير
فقد عولوا على كثرة عددهم فظفروا بادى بدء
بالازدراء الى افعال انكترا واستخفوا
بمشروعاتها الاصلاحية ولكنهم اضطروا
اخيراً الى تخفيف حركاتهم العدائية والى دخول
نطاق الانقياد لاسباب منها استيطان
المهاجرين الانكليز على كثرة رأس الرجاء

وعودة الزنوج الذين نجوا بارواحهم قبلاً
 هارين الى الجبال الشاخنة من سيوف البوير
 المهركة الدم والتجاؤهم افواجاً افواجاً آمنين
 على انفسهم ومعتدين على عدالة الادارة
 الانكليزية وصيرورة المسلمين الملائين قوة
 ظهر لانكترا وأعاوناً صادقين لها طبعاً اذا
 استفادوا كثيراً مما شملهم من عدلها وحمايتها
 فتجدد عندهم ما فطروا عليه من سمو السجايا
 وكرم الاخلاق واستعملوه عدة لهم .

فبينما كان البوير متألمين للنغاية من
 رسوخ الادارة الانكليزية بين ظهرانيهم ومن
 كونهم مضطرين الى سلوك سبيل الانسانية
 صادق المجلس العمومي الانكليزي على قرار

أعانه ومقتضاه تخصيص عشرين مليون جنيه
 انكليزي تنفق في سبيل اعتاق الاسارى من
 قيد الاستعباد والاسر عموماً ودفعة واحدة
 البالغ عددهم سبعمائة وخمسين الف نفس
 فكثرت رقابهم من اغلال الذل والهوان بفضل
 ذلك القرار الذي لم يعهد قرار مثله في تاريخ
 الامم يدل على علو الطبع وشرف السجية
 ويعلم اثر سماح وسخاء لا يطامسه الدهر ويبقى
 تذكاراً تقدره الانسانية حتى قدره مدى
 الانام فشق ذلك القرار على البوير لانهم
 به ممنوعون استعمال النسل كالانعام والاموال
 المنقولة وقد كانوا اسارى لهم بالامس هم
 يضعون بهم ما تشبهه انفسهم وراؤهم اليوم

مساوين لهم في جميع الحقوق يعيشون عيشهم
 ويزاحمونهم كتمفأ بكتف في المكاسب ونيل
 الرغائب فضايق صدر البوير من مثل هذه
 الامور التي لم يستطيعوا عليها صبراً .

فعلى ذلك حصلت عند البوير امنية
 جديدة وهي ان يبتغوا مكاناً لهم آخر يوافق
 اهواءهم ويتجولون فيه كيف يشاؤون في افرقة
 الداخلية فاخذوا النساء واولادهم مع مواشيهم
 وتوجهوا نحو الاصماع الكؤنة في الجانب
 الشمالى من رأس الرجاء الالذين تكانوا
 العيش تحت قوانين التمدن والانتظام وقليل
 ما هم . فهو لاء البوير الذين كانوا متخذين
 مقاطعة رأس الرجاء وطناً لهم ما تي عام

تقريباً وهاجروها لكي لا يدخلوا نطاق
 المدنية ويقبلوا قوانين العدل والانسانية مروا
 قبل بضع سنين لرعي مواشيهم لما ابتلوا بالقطط
 والجذب الى الضفة الاخرى من نهر الاورنج
 وكانوا يعرفون واقعه واعترفوا برئاسة رجل
 عليهم اسمه « پترتيق » ثم قرروا بينهم ان
 يسكنوها عائشيين بصفة البدو وان لا يقتربوا
 من مواطن القبائل الكافرية اتقاء من شرها
 واحتفاظاً من تعرضاتها لهم .

واما العمال الانكليز فاقبضوا آثارهم
 وافهموا انهم لا يمكنهم ان يخرجوا من نطاق
 التبعية لهم انما كانوا وحيثما وجدوا فاذعن
 فريق منهم لما قيل من النصيح والتنبيه وفريق

لم يدعوا بل انسحبوا الى الشمال تاركين
وطنهم الجديد. فالذين ارتحلوا من هذا الفريق
سواء الى اعلى سلاسل الجبال « داركن بركن »
المستبكة توافقوا مع « دينغان » حاكم قوم
« زولي » فاضوا الى الجانب الآخر لتلك
الجبال حيث القوا عصا الترحال واستوطنوا
غير ان دينغان توهم امورا من توطنهم كثيراً
بهذه البقاع فاستدعاهم يوماً الى محل بزم
تخصيص الاراضى وتحديد ما حيث هجم
عليهم وافنى اكثرهم لكن الباقين من سيقه منهم
نجوا من الدلالة بنفوسهم متجهين بمعاقل
ثم اخذوا يكتسبون القوة شيئاً فشيئاً لندريج
حتى فازوا باسقاط دينغان من حاكميته ونصب

اخيه مقامه ثم أسسوا ادارة ناتال المستقلة .
واما الانكايز فلم يجيزوا للبوير تأسيس ادارة
مستقلة ودعواهم الى الطاعة لهم وادخلوا جانباً
منهم دائرة نفوذهم باستعمال القوة الجبرية بعد
المقاومة الواقعة منهم . ان البوير الذين لم يعرفوا
الانكايز ذنبهم وهو اتخاذهم البيض والسود
سواء في الحقوق البشرية وتعليمهم الزنوج
كيف يتحلون بالديانة والمدنية فقرروا الى
جبال افريقية برؤوسهم لئلا يروا وجه
الانكايز جعل اكثرهم خشونة وتمرداً رعداً
رجال اسمهم « هندريق پورتيتري » رئيساً
وقادراً عاماً لهم ثم تمرغوا متعادين متسعين
الى سفح الجبل المسمى « كاشان » او

« ميناسبرغ » الواقع في الجهة الشمالية من
نهر الفال اسم الجبل المشرف المتسلط على
مدينة « بريوريا » قاعدة حكومة الترنسفال
واما هذه النواحي فكانت قد وقعت
في قبضة « موسيلقاجه » حاكم « ماتابلا »
واحدث دخول البوير واقامتهم فيها انواع
الاختلاف والاختصاص بين اهليها في حرب
دموية تولدت من شعبهم انهم « موسيلقاجه »
وغلب فولى هارباً مدبراً الى جهة نهر « كيمبو »
الشمالية واما البوير بعد هذا الظفر والانتصار
فقد لقوا احسن القبول من الاهالى القديمة
التي كانت صاحبة التصرف في تلك الضواحي
وارتاعت من جور المتابليين واعتسافهم

ولكن البوير لما جيلوا عليه من الغلظة
والخشونة قاموا بايقاع المظالم والمغارم حيثما تطأ
اقدامهم واخذوا يغصبون من الناس املاكهم
ويسلبونهم اموالهم ويختطفون اولادهم من
ايديهم بالعنف والشدة ويستخدمونهم
استخدام الاسرى والعبيد حتى افضت اعمالهم
بالناس ان يقولوا رحم الله المتابليين .
ان البوير اعتقدوا افريقية ملكاً خصوصاً
بهم احسن به اليهم من الله فضلاً وكرماً
وعدوا ناسها عبيداً خلقوا لاجلهم يخدمون
ما ربههم الذاتية فقط فكانوا يمدون الانكايز
عداوة دائمة وغيرهم من تجار الممالك المتمدنة
السائرة ورهبانهم من الرجال الذين راموا ان

تتمن هؤلاء التعماء ويتدينوا وكان البوير يعلمون أهم وظيفة دينية لهم منع انتشار الديانة والتجارة والحضارة في الامكنة التي يحكمونها بانفسهم أو يجري فيها نفوذهم أو شيء من سلطتهم حتى ان القبائل الزنجية تحت حكم البوير واصلتهم سمرت التعليم والتنوير وحدها حينما ذهب «ليوتغنون» الشهير الى بلدة «كولونينغ» مركز حكومة قوم «باقوان» وبقي مدة مديدة عند رئيسهم الشافى غصونها مدرسة للمعلمين ثم شرع يرسل المتخرجين منها الى القبائل المتجاورة حتى توفق الى تنوير زنوج افريقية بابوار الحضارة والتقدم. وقد شد «ليوتغنون» الرحلة مسافراً الى حيث

«هندريق پورتكيتري» فرجائه كثير اطلب ان يرفع الموانع لقبول قبائله معلمين فما كان من «هندريق پورتكيتري» الا رد مطالبه وامانيه مجيباً عليها ان اهل القبائل ان كان شيء يجب عليهم ان يتعلموه فالواجب ان يعلموا ان السود لم يخلقوا لساواوا البيض في شيء فاضطر «ليوتغنون» ان يرجع يائساً خائباً ولما كان البوير الساكنون بين نهر «الغال» و «الليمبوبو» يرتكبون المظالم ويأتون كل منكر كانت حكومة انكلترا قد اخضعت قهراً البوير الموجودين في جهة نهر الاورنج حتى اعترفوا بالطاعة والتبعية لها فالذين لم يرضوا بهذا الامر ساروا الى

رأس الرجاء ووكيل پريتوريوس على هذه الشروط واعترف بكون الترنسقال جمهورية مستقلة. وفي هذه الاثناء كانت حرب القريم اشتد وطيسها واخذت اهم ادوارها فرأت حكومة انكلترا ان تمنح مقاطعة الاورنج استقلالاً في الادارة والسياسة دفعاً لحوادث القلق والاضطراب فيها فصاغت على ذلك بشرط منع بيع الرقيق وشرائه قطعاً وبتأناً. وأما البوير فاهملوا جميع ما اخذوا على انفسهم عهداً نحو انكلترا وقد نالوا الاستقلال الاداري والسياسي بشرط ان لا يمانعوا فيما بعد حرية التجارة الانكليزية ولا ان يرتكبوا الفعل المنكر من الاسترقاق والاتجار بالرقيق ابداً.

وحينما كانت المذاكرة جارية على اساس العهد وشروطه سأل مندوب پريتوريوس حاكم رأس الرجاء كيف يعامل المرسلون الانكليز فقال له السير «جورج قاثارت» «في وسعكم ان تعاملوا المرسلين كيف تشاءون» من قبيل الفكاهة والملاطفة ولكن البوير حملوا هذه الفكاهة الهزلية على الجد والقصد وعدوا المادة التي في وجوب جعل قبائل «باقوانه» ممنوعة من ادخال السلاح والبارود واستحضارهما دليلاً على ان لهم الحق والمساغ في سحق هذه القبائل بالتمام فلم تمض عدة اشهر على عقد العهد حتى جهز پريتوريوس عصابة مركبة من اربعمائة

رأس الرجاء ووكيل بريتيوريوس على هذه الشروط واعترف بكون الترنسفال جمهورية مستقلة . وفي هذه الاثناء كانت حرب القريم اشتد وطيسها وأخذت اهم ادوارها فرأت حكومة انكلترا ان تمنح مقاطعة الاورنج استقلالاً في الادارة والسياسة دفعاً لحوادث القلق والاضطراب فيها فصادقت على ذلك بشرط منع بيع الرقيق وشرائه قطعاً وبتأناً . وأما البوير فاهملوا جميع ما اخذوا على انفسهم عهداً نحو انكلترا وقد نالوا الاستقلال الاداري والسياسي بشرط ان لا يمانعوا فيما بعد حرية التجارة الانكليزية ولا ان يرتكبوا الفعل المنكر من الاسترقاق والاتجار بالرقيق أبداً .

وحينما كانت المذاكرة جارية على اساس العهد وشروطه سأل مندوب بريتيوريوس حاكم رأس الرجاء كيف يعامل المرسلون الانكليز فقال له السير « جورج قاتقارث » « في وسعكم ان تعاملوا المرسلين كيف تشاءون » من قبيل الفكاهة والملاطفة ولكن البوير حملوا هذه الفكاهة الهزلية على الجد والتصد وعدوا المادة التي في وجوب جعل قبائل « باقوانه » ممنوعة من ادخال السلاح والبارود واستحضارها دليلاً على ان لهم الحق والمساغ في سحق هذه القبائل بالتمام فلم تمض عدة اشهر على عقد العهد حتى جهز بريتيوريوس عصابة مركبة من اربعمائة

شخص مسلحين وساقها الى « كولونغ » مقر « ليونيغتون » واخرب المباني والبيوت حتى مدرسة ليونيغتون وبعد حرب دامت عدة ساعات اسر بضع مئات ذكر واشي من الاولاد والنساء لم يستطيعوا الفرار واكلهم بالقيود والسلاسل .

فقد حكى ليونيغتون عند عودته من « كارونا » بعد ايقاع البوير هذه الفاجعة باسان يجرح العواطف انه وجد كتبه ورسائله التي لا يضحها حتى الوحوش ممزقة مفتتة وبيته مهدملاً وقصبة قاعاً نصفها وانديها خاوية على عروشها واقعة على الارض وامهات وآباء باكين منتحبين على اولادهم الذين اسرهم

البوير وكانت مآناً نفس منهم يداومون مدرسته ذكوراً واناثاً .

ولا سيما انه الفى صيياً قد احرق جنباه بالنار وكان هذا الصبي ابن حاكم قوم « سچله » واعيد الى ابيه بعد ان انقذ بصعوبة من يد بريتيوريوس رئيس جمهورية الترنسفال .

البوير كلما تنصلوا من مداخلة انكلترا ومراقبتها فادركوا الاغراض التي كانوا يتوجهون اليها جعلوا يعتدون على غيرهم بلا نظر الى المين او الشمال مستكبرين فرط استكبار ولم يفتأوا يقومون باعمال بربرية وحركات وحشية منهمكين على سلك دماء الارباء في كل مكان خلا لهم جوه كأنهم مأمورون من عند الخالق

الذي لا يستل عما يفعل بازالة وجود كل ما كان في ربقة اسرعهم من الخلق في افريقية. وهكذا خربوا جميع ما وجدوه واحداً بعد واحد من المباني الخيرية التي شيدها المبعوثون الذين اتوا الزنوج حق الانسانية وشرعها مع وسائل الدفاع وطرد البوير هؤلاء المبعوثين الدينيين من بين اظورهم طرداً وابعدهم عن ربوعهم كما فعلوا ذلك بالانكليز الذين راموا الاتجار في الاقطار الشرقية واحداث الملاقة معها. فيما كان هذا التصب والاستكبار جارياً على قدم وساق في افريقية حدثت حرب القريم فذهب البوير الى ان الدولة الروسية افتتحت هذه

الحرب لغاية وحيدة مجردة عن شوائب الاغراض السافلة وهي تخليص القدس الشريف مع المقامات المباركة والاماكن المقدسة في ارض فلسطين من يد المسلمين فجهزوا فئمة مؤلفة من عدة مئات من البوير المتدينين بعثوا بها الى ارض فلسطين مؤملين انهم يحرزون شرفاً عظيماً وثواباً جزيلاً بمساعدة جنود الروس على مقاتلتهم وبالاشتراك في الحروب والمعارك التي تبذلها المسلمين الذين يعتبرونهم اعداء لدينهم كما تعتال هذه الحرب الانكليز الذين يعتقدونهم اعداء لارواحهم ولعولاً لا اعداء دينهم. فهاهنا الحيرة البويرية سارت نحو الشمال سيراً حثيثاً على وجهة

مستقيمة وصادفت في مسيرها منبع نهر سحبه النيل من حيث ظنت منبعه منبع النيل. حين توفي بريتيوريوس وهو يعد داود البوير الذين حذوا حذو بني اسرائيل واتخذوا اطوارهم خلفه في مقام الرئاسة ابنه بريتيوريوس الثاني وانتخب رئيساً للبوير باجماع اراهم. وهذا الرجل مع انه كان ضعيف الرأي جداً في السياسة تصير الباع في الادارة ولم يظهر ما يحمد عليه من المآثر فقد تمكن بمجرد كونه عسكراً في النسب من تقوية مسنده في الترسانة فضلاً عن انه احرز رئاسة جمهورية الاورنج لمدة وفي سنة ١٨٦٨ لما انكشف منجم الماس في قطعة «غريكو لند»

بجوار تينك الجمهوريتين أدى ذلك بهما الى دعوى حق الامتلاك لهذه القطعة. وكانت تحت تصرف قوم يسمنون «غريكو» وهم لفيق من اولاد نساء القبائل اللاتي تزوجهن البوير ومن اخفادها. فرد «اتريوير» رئيس قوم غريكو وفتنذ دعوى الطرفين كليهما ومع هذا فقد عين اولاً «براند» رئيس جمهورية الاورنج رجلاً بصفة وال ارسله للاستيلاء على محل المعدن حيث يخرج الماس ولتصرفه وعندئذ عين بريتيوريوس والامن عنده أيضاً وبعث به الى المحل المذكور لانه قصد عينه. ولكن اذ كانت مناقشات الفريقين المتكونة من دعوى حق التصرف في المعدن

لفظية لا طائل تحتها ومن حيث كان حكم الوالدين غير نافذ ولا مرعى فقد عمر هذه الارض المعدنون الذين اجتمعوا فيها وباشروا الاعمال في المعدن بكل جهد وهمة واكثرهم من الانكليز واعلن والي رأس الرجاء الصالح ان هذه القطعة مستملكة انكليزية بحجة انها متعلقة بالبريكوبيين الحاليين تبعية انكلترا وسافر بالذات الى المحل المذكور حيث حظى بحسن القبول والخفاوة من المعدنين والاهالي وكذلك سافر مرة « براند » رئيس الاورنج الى لندن عاصمة انكلترا حيث توفى لحسم هذه المسألة بالصالح ونال مبلغاً من المال مهماً مقابل ذلك فانتج هذا الامر قيام

البوير على برييتوريوس واختابهم بدلا عنه فرنسوا بورك من ارباب العلم والكمال الهولنديين . وفرنسوا بورك هذا اجتهد حسب طاقته في استحصاال الوسائط الاصلاحية الكافالة للبوير بالتمتع بالحضارة والمدنية وقصد اوربا سياحة على ان يعقد عهداً مع حكومة البرتغال لانشاء سكة حديد تمتد من الترنسفال الى « دلاغوبالي » ونجح في هذا المقصد وحصل على ملكية له من المال رأساً ولكنه لم يتمكن من اقتطاف الاثمار من تعبته ونجاحه هذا لان كروجر رئيس الترنسفال الحالي كان يلقى انواع العراقل في سبيله ويفترى عليه كل مفترى من جهة

ولان « سكوكو » حاكم القبائل القديم جدد دعوى قديمة من جهة فلهذين السبيين لم يدرك الرجل ما اراده وفي الحرب التي حدثت بين « سكوكو » والبوير هزموا شر هزيمة ووقع بقاء الترنسفال في التهلكة فاقرت انكلترا على وجوب المداخلة لانقاذ الترنسفال ولثلاث سبب استطاعة للقبائل بحيث تمنع مدينة اوربا وارسات من قبلها السير « طوفايوس شيبستون » رسولا مخصوصاً الى الترنسفال فلما قدم هذا الرسول بريتوريا ومعه ثلاثون فارساً اظهر له البوير ولا سيما الميسو كروجر ميلاً عظيماً سواء في المركز وفي القصبات المتجاورة وتوافقوا معه على ما رام فأسس

الادارة الانكليزية وركز العلم البريطاني في الترنسفال ومداخلة انكلترا بهذه الصورة مع انها انقذت البوير من خطر عظيم اخذ الاستياء بيدوا بينهم شيئاً فشيئاً اذ انها ازلت استقلالهم الاداري وقضت عليه وفي تاريخ ١٨٨٠ اي بعد ان ادخل الميسو « طيوفيلوس شيبستون » الترنسفال تحت الادارة الانكليزية بثلاث سنين جاهر البوير بالعصيان ظاهراً وباطناً . فامرت انكلترا السير « جورج قوئي » والي ناال بتسكين هذا العصيان فزحف على الترنسفال بالقوة الجندية الموجودة عنده وحين وصوله الى « انكسناك » احم معبر لجبال « داركن بركن » المتسلسلة هزم الجند

الانكليزي هزيمة فظيعة فلم يعبأ السير « جورج قولبي » بذلك بل عزم على ان يخترق الترنسفال وقد انضمت الى قوة قوية امداد عسكرية اخرى فانكسر جنده بالكلية في ذروة « مازووبا » وضحى هو في خطأ عدم التبصر بوجه وهذه الهزيمة اوجعت انكارا فشرعت في اعداد المعدات العظيمة لتتمكن من اخذ الثأر لاستكمال الشرف وكان القول الانكليز قد شغفهم غرام الهجوم على الترنسفال حالا الا ان المسيو « غلادستون » الشير بسلامة الفكر كان على رئاسة وزارة انكلترا اذ ذاك ورأى ان التزام خطة الاعتدال خير لدولة عظيمة مثل انكلترا من الظفر الحاصل

بأقوة القهرية فاصدر الامر مرجحاً لهذا الرأي بعقد الصلح مع الترنسفال وبرد الاستقلال اليها حالا .

فالماهدة المعقودة في سنة ١٨٨١ حافظت على استقلال الترنسفال في الادارة الداخلية ولكنها بما كانت تتضمن التبعية لانكلترا وحق مداخلتها في بعض المسائل الداخلية مارقت البوير ولاسرتهم تمام السرور فقصد كروجر الذي نصب على مقام الرئاسة لندن يصحبه القائد العام ومدير المعارف فنظمت معاهدة ثانية وتوطيت بين الطرفين بتاريخ ١٨٨٤ يعترف بها ان الترنسفال مستقلة في الادارة الداخلية استقلالا تاماً غير انه

ادرج شرط في المادة الرابعة من هذه المعاهدة عبارة عن ان العهود والمواثيق التي ستعقدها مع الدول الاجنبية ورؤساء القبائل المحلية ومع جمهورية الاورنج ايضاً لا بد ان تصادق عليها ملكة انكلترا ليجوز اعتبار احكامها مرعية ومقبولة . فهذه هي المعاهدة الاخيرة التي تعين حيز الترنسفال السياسي وحقوقها العمومية مع طرز ادارتها وانتج تطبيق احكامها وتفسيرها الاختلاف الذي افضى الى الحرب الحاضرة . قبل ان نشرع في تفصيل اسباب الاختلاف الحالي رأينا من المناسب ان نذكر بعض المعلومات المتعلقة باحوال البوير

الخصوصية وادارتهم التي أسسوها وقاموا بها بعد استقلالهم الاخير فقول ان البوير انما توسعوا هارين من وجه الحضارة بما عليه من غلظة الطباع اتخذوا في المعيشة طوراً يجدر بالقلاحة الصرفة ويتعير آخر يخفق برعي المواشي فقط . رئيس كل عائلة منهم مضطار ان يدخل تحت تصرفه لا الزرعة التي تسمى « پلاطس » وتحتوى على ثلاثة آلاف دونم على الاقل بل قطعة كبيرة من الارض يبني في وسطها وعلى نقطة مرتفعة عليها مقاماً له بل معقلاً يسكنه وكل هذا ليعول عائلته مع من له من كثير الخدم والحشم في بيته والمعيشة بهذه الكيفية والمواظبة

عليها تكفي لدوام عوامل التوحش الذي يمنع الناس من تقديرهم نعمة المدنية ولعدم انتشار المعارف وحسن التربية بينهم فلهذا مازال اكثر البوير الى عهد قريب يكتسبون جلود الوحوش الضارية ويعبدون عبادتهم محدقين بابصرهم الى صحائف الانجيل والتوراة المرتسمة والتصاوير التاريخية المنقوشة عليها. وكان البوير لا يرغبون في مهنة ولا صنعة بينما كان مجتمعهم المسمى قصبة على شكل قرية كبيرة ولا ياذنون بالاقامة في حال الاجتماع للاهالي المتولفة من قبائل الزنوج في جهة مالم تكن مختلفة الاصناف وانما كانوا يسمحون بذلك للقبائل الموجودة في

نواحي الاورنج وفي جهات الترنسفال القريبة من الاورنج وعلى هذا التقدير يجبرونهم في عدة سنوات على تبديل مساكنهم ومآويهم وكان الزنوج لا يجوز لهم ان يتصرفوا ارضا املاكاً حيثما وجدوا ولا ان ينالوا حق حمل السلاح ولا شيئاً من سائر حقوق المدنية حتى ولا ان يبيتوا ويقيموا مع البوير لا تحت سقف واحد بل في حارة واحدة وكان محظوراً عليهم ان يعملوا في المعادن على حسابهم بينما كان التعدين اكثر مهن الامارة ربحاً ونماءً وقد حرموا من اخذ اجورهم ذهباً اذا عملوا في معدن فحالة ومن حمل الذهب معهم فان حماوا منه عوقبوا بالضرب والسجن وكذلك

المسلمون والهنود والصينيون حرموا حق الاختلاط ببعضهم واكرهوا على اخذ رخصة مخصوصة مقابل خمسة وعشرين جنياً انكليزياً للاقامة في الترنسفال والقيسم بمهنة فيها .

واما ادارة الحكومة في الترنسفال فعلى اسلوب الجمهورية يوجد على رأس الادارة حاكم ينتخبه افراد الاهالي مباشرة لمدة خمس سنين .

وتتألف هيئتها القانونية لكل محل من مجلسين عموميين يسميان بالفكراد الاول والفكراد الثاني متركبين من تسعة وعشرين عضواً وهيئتها الادارية عبارة عن هيئة في

عهدتها قيادة القوة العمومية وعنوانها معاونة الرئيس متركة من ناظر وثلاثة اعضاء . وكل من يجوز ان يكون رئيساً للجمهورية او عضواً في المجلسين الاول والثاني او مأموراً للحكومة كبيراً او صغيراً يجب ان يكون من البوركر اصلاً ونسلاً اي من الذين جاءوا من رأس الرجاء الصالح الى الترنسفال مهاجرين او الذين استوطنوا الترنسفال قبل سنة ١٨٧٦ على الاقل واعتنقوا مذهب البروتستانت .

وكان قبلاً من السهل على البيض الذين يهاجرون الى الترنسفال ان ينالوا حق التبعية ثم وضعت شروط ثقيلة تصعب ذلك منعاً

الاوربيين ولا سيما الانكليز الذين يأتون
الترنسفال ويقيمون فيها من اكتساب هذا
الحق والاستفادة منه .

ثم بعد ان ازدادت الاشغال في المعادن
وكثرت اعمالها صار الذين يقيمون سنتين
يكتسبون صفة التبعية الترنسفالية وتكون
منهم الطبقة الاولى من تبعة الترنسفال ولهم
حق ان يتولوا انتخاب اعضاء للمجلس الثاني
فقط وهو مجلس لا يعتد به .

والذين يتصلون على صفة التبعية بعد
مدة اربع سنين من الاقامة لهم حق ان ينتخب
منهم اعضاء للمجلس الثاني. والذين يحرزون
التبعية بعد اثني عشر عاماً حسب أحكام

القانون المؤرخ بتاريخ ١٨٩٠ وبعد اربع
عشرة سنة بموجب نصوص القانون الصادر
في سنة ١٨٩٤ وبعد سبع سنين نظراً الى
بنود القانون الذي اقترحه كروجر وصادق
عليه الفسكراڊ بعد ان جرى بينه وبين السير
«الفردملتر» حاكم رأس الرجاء حديث في
مركز الاوراج تتركب منهم الطبقة الثالثة
من تبعة الترنسفال ويتمتعون بالحقوق المدنية
والسياسية كافة .

حكومة الترنسفال التي تسمى جمهورية
وهي تقاد لرأي كروجر الذي يرأسها
بالاستقلال منذ تسعة عشر عاماً قد حصرت
حق الانسانية في الاشخاص البيض اللون

وحقوق المدنية في المتتمذهين بمذهب البوير
والحقوق السياسية في البوير اصلاً ونسلاً .
واختلاف الاجناس والمذاهب في الحقوق
أمر تسعى الانسانية في كل جانب من
الارض لرفعه وطاب انكثرا التي لها اعظم
علاقة بافريقية الجنوبية لرفع قيوده وتحوير
حدوده قد أدى الى هذه الحرب .

ان البوير الذين اعتادوا زرع الارض
وتربية الحيوانات الاهلية وهم سكان البقاع
الواسعة والمخضبة المحتوية على حوزة املاك
الجمهورية الترنسفال والاوراج لم يكتفوا
على حالة منحصرة في القيام بالصناعة والفلاحة
ولم تصوروا من الاعمال والحركات ما ينتج

الوخامة على املاك انكثرا الحائزة الاهمية
في اوربا وفي افريقية على السواء لما بقي محل
لحدوث خلاف بينهما بسبب الوفاء بوظيفة
الحكومة واستعمالها والمحافظة على حق
الحاكمية الذي تتضمنه المعاهدة المبجوت عنها
المعقودة بين الطرفين . اذ ان انكثرا جعلت
في قبضة تصرفها الجوانب الاربعة للترنسفال
ماعدا الاراضي الباقية بيد البرتغال شمالاً جهة
الترنسفال الشرقية واحاطت بالسكك الحديدية
جميع ماحوالي ذلك من البلاد المعمورة داراً
ما داروا وما بالعكس من ذلك فلكان البوير
يخدمون المقاصد الانسانية التي ترمى اليها
انكثرا داخلين رياض المدنية والحضارة

كالبور الباقين في مستعمرة رأس الرجاء
بالجاء المنفعة ومرور الزمان قائمين بأجراء
معاملاتهم التجارية بواسطة الانكليز ليس
الا قادرين على بيع محاصيلهم في الاملاك
الانكليزية فقط . والله تعالى منح هذه
المقاطعة ثروة معدنية لا يعهد لها مثيل في
العالم بمدا قوة ارضها الانباتية .

ان الترنسفال مساحتها السطحية ثمانية
آلاف كيلو متر تربيعاً على وجه التقريب
وثلاث حوزة معدنية يمكن ان ينال منها كنز
لا يفتنى .

معادن الذهب التي لم ينزل السعي
في استخراجها واستخراجها بكامل الجسد

والاهتمام منذ ستة عشر عاماً ازدادت
مستخرجاتها ازدياداً عظيماً بحيث بلغت
قيمتها في السنتين قبل الحرب سبعة عشر
مليوناً من الجنيهات الانكليزية تقريباً فهذه
الثروة الفائلة العادة عظمت مكانة المملكة
المالية والسياسية وتأثير القوة الجاذبة التي
تملكها لمستخرجاتها الذهبية في قلوب الناس
تسببت في اجتماع الرجال هناك من جوانب
العالم كلها ساعين وراء الثراء والرفاه متهاكين
على جمع المال .

يوجد الآن في الترنسفال ما يتجاوز
ثلاثمائة ألف نفس من الاهالي البيض المتمدين
ولم يكن قبل استخراج المعادن الا سبعون

الف نسمة من البوير .
واردات حكومة الترنسفال العمومية
في السنة قبل اكتشاف المعادن والمناجم
لم تبلغ الا سبعين الف جنيه ولم يكن من
الممكن ان توجد عملة ذهبية في خزينة
المركز واما الآن فدخل خزينة الترنسفال
قد بلغ مقداره اربعة ملايين ونصف مليون
من الجنيهات وادخرت فيها تقود كثيرة
اشترت بها الاسلحة المكتملة الحربية
والادوات النارية الكافية لمقاومة انكليز
التي ارهبت الدنيا بثروتها
قبل الآن بست عشرة سنة كان ثمن
مجموع الصادرات والواردات في الترنسفال

مليون جنيه انكليزي واما اليوم فتجارها
العمومية السنوية مجموع قيمتها قد تجاوز
اثنين وثلاثين مليوناً من الجنيهات الانكليزية
اي صار مساوياً لمقدار جميع واردات الممالك
العثمانية وصادراتها . لا يبرح من الازدهار
ان هذه القطعة الجامعة من منابع الثروة
ما يفوق المادة يتصرفها البوير الذين كانوا
من سعة انكساراً فقروا من ادارتها وارادوا
كثيراً ان يحولوا دون المدينة التي تريد تمهيدها
في افريقية معتقدين ان معادنها قلباً وقالباً مالا
وبدناً عين العادة لشدة بغضهم لمذهبها
ومشربها ومسلكتها الذي هو انساني مخض
يرقي الانسانية ويربي فيها احسن تربية .

ولا يبعد عن نظر المطالعة والمحكمة أيضاً ان
بدل القيمة الاعتبارية لهذه الدفائن الذهبية
هو عبارة عن القيمة الحقيقية للاسهام المحفوظة
في قاطر ذوى رأس المال من اهل لندن وان
الذين يدرون هذه الثروة ويتداولون هذه
التجارة في الترنسفال هم الانكليز . ان الاؤلنددر
اى الاجانب المتكون منهم نصف الالهالى
عدا الزنوج اربعة اخماسهم من الانكليز
فهل ثابت والحالة هذه دولة انكلترا غير
مكتثرة بما عند البوير من الفضل الالهى
والثروة المالية ولا مهتمة بقوتهم الحربية التى
حصلوا عليها واستكملوها بذلك وهل ترك
بضاعة تجارية لها متكوناً منها نحو عشرة

مليارات من ثروتها المالية ان تذهب سدى
وهل تضحي في طمع البوير وجشعهم وادارتهم
الكيفية مائة الف نفس من تبعها وقد امتلك
الانكليز تلك المعادن الجسيمة وعظموا شأنها
بما بذلوه من المساعي المتوالية البدنية مع
القوتين الفكرية والمالية . فهذه هي الاحوال
الحقيقية التى تولدت منها المسألة الحاضرة .
لوسوعد البوير بالسكوت عن غلظتهم الطبيعية
وتعصباتهم الدينية عدا الضمام القوة المالية
والقدرة السياسية لهم لا خلت تماماً مقاصد
انكلترا العظيمة المنشئة الحضارة والتمدن
في افريقية . بل لما انحصرت البلية في هذه
الدرجة فان قوة البوير المالية الى هذا الحد

وقدرتهم السياسية بهذا الاسلوب تثير
وتتهيج على حكمة انكلترا جميع الافريكيندر
المتجانسين لهم الذين يتألف منهم اهم عنصر
في افريقية الجنوبية وما زالوا لحد الآن تحت
الادارة الانكليزية غير مشتركين في عنادهم
وتعصبهم فتكون نتيجة ذاك خروج احد
العنصرين من افريقية الجنوبية نهائياً .

واما انكلترا فلا يسعها ان تضحي وتدع
ابداً آمالها الحيرية ومقاصدها الانسانية
الممهدة لسبيل التمالى والارتقاء في افريقية
للمناعة عصابة من الخلق متعصبة غليظة
طبعاً وخلقاً هزت الدنيا كلها بشدة بانها
انكلترا هزت الدنيا كلها بشدة بانها

وارهبت بمكنتها ومثانتها حتى الدول التى تخيل
في عظمتها انها تحكم الدنيا بأسرها فلا يصح
لانكلترا ان تلقى بوجودها السياسى ومركز
قدرتها في التهاكة اذا لم تظهر للبوير ما لها من
الشوكة والمقدرة . لا ترى محلاً للافتكار في ان
الوسائل الحربية التى توسلت بها انكلترا كافية
ام غير كافية لاستحصال منافعها الخصوصية
التي جعلتها دائماً تتحد مع المنافع العمومية
والانسانية والحرية والمدنية .

كما لا نرى لزوماً لتحقيق اقتدارها على
تأكيد مطالبها السياسية اني ابانتها نحو البوير
وهي المستندة على الحقوق الممهدة . ان
انكلترا متعزبة للحرية والعدالة في جميع

الازمان . تروم ان تكون كل أمة وقوم
متتورين بانوار المدنية وكل قطعة وبقعة من
الارض مصونة محكمة بقوة العدالة . ان
نشأت ادارة ظالمة في أى جانب من الدنيا
اظهرت انكثرا العداوة ضدها وان وقع
اهل أى مملكة في قيد الاسر والاستعباد
ظاهرهم انكثرا على المستبدين .
لا يقال ان كل ما تقوم به انكثرا من
الاعمال في تهديد العدالة وجميع نواياها في
ترقية الانسانية ناشئ عن العواطف الوجدانية
الخالصة من الاغراض الخصوصية .
ان الدولة المجتمعة من الجزيرتين
المسماة بهما الجديرة بان يطلق عليها اسم معمل

سالح عمومي للربع المسكون المضطرة الى
تكثير المشتري لترويج ملايين من الامتعة
المسوجة والمصنوعة في ذلك المعمل الواسع
العظيم والخارجة منه ليلا ونهاراً والشراء
يتوقف على الرغبة والرغبة على الحاجة وهذه
على ازدياد الحضارة والثروة ودولة انكثرا
ما اختارت لها كغيرها من الدول الفاتحات
مسلك جمع الثروة بابتزاز المال واغتنام الثروة
من المحلات التي تستولى عليها . بل هي
بالعكس من ذلك قد بذت مساعيها مالا
وبذل لا تنفك ثورتها وعمرانها وخلاصة المقال
انها ابتغت على الدوام الممكنة والننى لنفسها
في ضمن حضارة الآخرين وسعادتهم .

والذين يحملون خدمات انكثرا للانسانية
والمدنية على جر المنفعة لنفسها خاصة يريدون
ان يهتموها بحشع النفس في المنافع الخصوصية
الصرفة .
واما عندنا فانكثرا مستحقة للتبريات
والتهنئة بانها توفقت الى توحيد منافعها المالية
مع منافع الانسانية العامة . ولا ثقة ان يعمل
على نواياها وامانيها بما تبرزه وتطبقه على
منافعها المالية من ارادة الخير وشرف المواطنين
نحو الانسانية باسرها .
نيات انكثرا المتعلقة بافريقية هي عبارة
عن ان ينال ما بين مائتي مليون الى ثلاثمائة
مليون من نفوس البشر فيها نعمة الحضارة

وان يحوزوا في ظل هذه النعمة الثروة
والعمران .
وكل ما افترحته انكثرا على حكومة
الترنستال لم يكن الا ان يؤسسوا ادارة صحيحة
مستتية تكون ناشرة للمدنية في افريقية
مع كونها خادمة للمدنية التي بها امتياز العناصر
المتبعية الى البوير على غيرها فكما يتمتع به
الافريكندر تحت الادارة الانكليزية من
جميع الحقوق السياسية والمدنية ينال الانكيز
والالمان والفرنسيون وافراد سائر الاجناس
المختلطة نتائج الحقوق السياسية والمدنية عيناً
في الترنستال . فن يقول مكابرة وانكاراً ان
هذا الطاب لا يقارن الحق والعدالة ؟

واما الانكليز فكان لهم مساع وصلاح
من وجوه عديدة ان يدعوا هذه الدعوى .
وقد بينا فيما سبق كيف وجد الانكليز
المسلمين الجاوبين وقبائل الزنوج تحت حكم
البوير على ذلة ومسكنة نجرح القلوب لا
احتلوا رأس الرجاء الصالح منذ مئة سنة
فوضعوا يدهم على افريقية الجنوبية وكيف
كانت الاحوال هناك محزنة كريمة فكان
اول عمل الانكليز بلزاء هذه الاحوال المنكسة
والسالة المذكورة انهم أسسوا ادارة سالمة
يمكن ان تكون كافلة لهؤلاء الناس على
اختلاف الطبقات ان ينالوا الحرية بصورة
مطلقة في الاعمال مع تأمينهم على الحرية في

الدين والوجدان ايضاً بعد ان كانوا صنفين
بينهما فرق عظيم بحيث يقال انه فرق بين
المالك والمملوك لا بين الحاكم والمحكوم .
فهذه الادارة اقامت سداً منيعاً دون ما كان
عليه البوير من الاعتداء والنحيم فوق العدل
والطبيعة والجاتهم من جهة الى قبول الحق
وسلوك طريق الصلاح وادت بالمسلمين الى
احراز الحرية التامة والمساواة الكاملة كما علمت
الزنوج شرف الانسانية .
وفي ظل هذه الادارة عادت البقاع
الخالية من الانسان معمورة مسكونة وشابه
الزنوج الذين كانوا يعدون الناس البيض
وحوشاً تشرب الدم هؤلاء البيض الانسانية

وتربية وديناً واخلاقاً ومدنية واعتادوا ان
يجرؤوا حقوق هؤلاء ومن اياهم .
لقد سمى الذين رضوا بالادارة الانكليزية
« افريكندر » تمييزاً وتفريقاً لهم عن البوير
الذين ارادوا ان لا يعرفوا في افريقية انفساً
غيرهم في اى معنى كان ولم يفتأوا يهربون
برؤوسهم وارواحهم من الادارة الانكليزية
منذ وقعوا تحتها .
فالراضون بها اضطروا الى تقدير
شرف الحضارة وقوة قانون العدالة وبفضل
هذه الادارة ازبح اختلاف المشارب السائد
بين الافراد وانكف كل منهم بالمساواة ومعاملة
غيره معاملة الاخ ومعاشرة احسن معاشرة

بما اوجدته الحكومة العادلة من الضوابط
القانونية والروابط المعنوية .
هذه الحكومة هي الفاصلة بحكمتها
دعوى التقدم والتفاضل بين الاجناس .
وبفضلها انشأت السكك الحديدية وقيمت
الجسور ومهدت الطرق في كل جهة واسست
المدارس والمكاتب والجوامع والمعابد
والكتائس وحدثت دور الصنائع والكتليات
ودور الفنون ودور الكتب والمتاحف
واسست المدن العظيمة والتصبات الجسيمة
كل ذلك بهداية هاته الادارة المستقيمة .
وحاصل الكلام ان مستعمرة الرجاء ضاهت
من كل وجه اعظم بلاد اوربا - حضارة وعمراناً

ووضعت اصول الدستورية نهائياً موضع التطبيق والعمل وودعت سكان مستعمرة الرجاء جميعهم على السواء .

وجعلت اصول المشورة هذه تحت ضمان مجلسي الاعيان والمبعوثين اللذين ينتخب اعضاءها الاهالى عموماً من غير نظر الى اللون والصفة والجنسية والديانة . والادارة المركزية مفوضة الى هيئة متركبة من رؤساء الحزب الذى يتكون منه القسم الاعظم والاكثر من هذين المجلسين واجرأت هيئة الادارة ومعاملاتها وهبوطها وتجهيدها كل ذلك معاق بقرار البرلمان وحكمه . اما البحث عن المسلمين هناك فهو ان احوالهم استأنفت

انظار الادارة الانكليزية واجتابت شفقتها عليهم فاختارت في بادئ الامر رجلاً اسمه المستر « ده روبه » وهو مأمور الضابطة في مدينة الرجاء وامرته بالتفتيش عن تدير احراز الجماعة الاسلامية موقع احترام وتأسيس مدارس لها تناسب شرف الاسلام فاهتم المستر ده روبه باهتماماً عظيماً باستحصال ما يكسب به المسلمون الشرف والاعتبار من الاسباب والوسائط . وكانت حرب القريم اذ ذاك قد اظهرت لكل احد وفي كل مكان درجة المصافاة القديمة العهد واهمية الموالاة المستحكمة العرى بين بريطانيا العظمى والدولة العثمانية وكان مسامو

رأس الرجاء قد وصلوا في ذلك الحين الى حالة حسنة ادركوا فيها ماهية همد الملائق الودية وقدروا قيمتها حق قدرها .

فقدموا عرضاً الى المرحوم السلطان عبد المجيد الذى يترفون به متبوعهم المعنوي ديناً ويعرفون انه محب معظم متبوعهم الحقيقي سياسة بينوا فيها مآلوه من العدالة والسعادة فى ظل الادارة الانكليزية وما راوه من مساعدات المستر ده روبه ومعاملاته الحسنة والانسانية فغازت هممة المستر ده روبه وخدمته للاسلام على هذا النحو موقع القبول والاستحسان لدى السلطان عبد المجيد فاذق عليه ما اطلق لسانه بالشكر والثناء

من الالطاف المملوكية والهدايا السنوية ذات القيمة العظيمة علامة لارتياحه وابتهاجه من ذلك وتقديره لهم الرجال اولي الفضل والكمال فزاد المستر ده روبه بمآله من الالتمات العالي المملوكى همة ونشاطاً اكثر مما كان عليه من قبل فى سبيل المعاونة والولاء للمسلمين ولاجل هذا ازداد المستر وقاراً واعتباراً فى مستعمرة رأس الرجاء حتى ترشح لعضوية مجلس المبعوثين لكن الافريكندر اى البوير الباقين فى رأس الرجاء ما كانوا يريدوا ان رجلاً قد ابدي الحب والولاء للمسلمين الى هذه الدرجة لائق لعضوية المجلس فنعوا انتخابه لما كان فى قلوبهم من شدة بغض والاحساسات

الاستحقاقية في حق المسلمين لا يهدأ ولا
يتنطفئ غير أن المسترده روبه قد تعين عضواً
لهذا المجلس في انتخاب خصوصي بعد سنتين
رغمًا عنهم. وأما الدولة الانكليزية فكما كانت
تقوم بأنواع المعاونات السياسية في صدد
استكمال الدولة العثمانية وسأبل القوة والشوكة
كذلك ما برحت تدلها على بث اشعة القوة
القدسية للخلافة الاسلامية التي يحملها سلطان
العثمانيين في العالم الاسلامي. فلذلك طلبت من
الباب العالي ان يبعث برجل يعينه من علماء دين
الاسلام ان يوضحى رأس الرجاء لتلقين المسلمين
هناك ما يوجب عليهم دينهم من الاحكام
والاعمال والاخلاق. واذنت للباب العالي

بتعيين المسترده روبه شهنيدراً للدولة العثمانية
في رأس الرجاء وهو من أعضاء مجلس الاعيان ثم
قدم المسترده روبه الآستانة العلية في أوائل حكم
السلطان عبد العزيز لكي يعرض بالذات على انظار
الدولة أحوال المسلمين الخصوصية وحاجاتهم
المتنوعة في رأس الرجاء ونواحيه وكانت
ادارة الدولة وقتئذ بأيدي رجال مقدرين
على الرق والفتق في الامور متبصرين في
العواقب مثل علي باشا وفؤاد باشا فخطى
المسترده روبه في الآستانة باصناف التكريم
واللطف وتلقى فيها ما تقتضيه الاحوال من
الارشادات والتنبيهات وأخذ من السلطان
عبد العزيز العطية التي تبرع بها لتكون مقابل

المصاريف الانشائية لجامع اسلامي في مدينة
«بور اليزاب» فرجع الى محل مأموريته .
وبعد هذا فاز المسلمون باحرار الحقوق المدنية
والسياسية وتأمين موقع احترام لهم في افريقية
الجنوبية بما بذله المسترده روبه من الحمم
والمساعدات من جبة نحوهم وبما قام به من
الزيرة والاجتهاد لخدمة بكرى افندي الذي
أرسل من قبل مقام الخلافة الكبرى الى افريقية
الجنوبية .أموراً بتمامها بحكام دين
الاسلام وتلقينهم مكارم أخلاقه .
لما جرت المذاكرات على قانون المعارف
العمومية في مجلس شوري رأس الرجاء أراد
الافريكي ندران يمحصر وتدريس العلوم الدينية

في المدارس العيسوية وخدماني أوقات معينة
ليحرموا بذلك المسلمين من تحصيل العلوم
الدينية في المدارس الاسلامية فابطأت دعوى
الافريكي ندر هذه باكثرية الآراء في المجلس .
وزيادة على هذا فقد حصل المسلمون
على حق الدخول في شوري الامة بافراغ
امر تحليف الاعضاء لمجلس الاعيان
والمبعوثين في قالب وشكل يسمع المسلمين ان
يقبلوها . فالمسلمون اليوم في مركز رأس
الرجاء وفي أهم البنادر والمدن قد حازوا موقعاً
ممتازاً جداً . مدارسهم ومعابدهم على غاية
الانتظام والروتق وارتقاؤهم من جهة
الاخلاق وحسن التربية وصل درجة مناسبة

لعلو الدين المحمدي ومجده فالرغبة في الاهتداء
اليه تزداد يوماً فيوماً وعدد نفوس المهتدين
اليه يكثر على الدوام .

ان مساهمي رأس الرجاء الصالحين الذين
كانوا يعملون في معادن الترنسفال ثم طردهم
البوير منها بسبب اعلان الحرب قد عرضوا
بلسان واحد على السير « المردينيتر » والي
رأس الرجاء مصرحين انه انهم مستعدون
ليدخلوا تحت السلاح ويهزقوا دماءهم في
كفاح الاعداء وانهم مدينون بالبقاء هذه
الوظيفة ديناً وذهبة لقيام بما يجب عليهم من
اداء حق الشكر لما يتمتعون به من نعم العدالة
والحرية والراحة في ظل الادارة الانكليزية .

ليس مقصدنا من الخوض في هذه
التفاصيل اظهار تفاضل العنصرين المحاربين
في جبال آفريقية قوةً وتفاوتهما حضارة .
وانما غايتنا القصوى من هذه المباحث اثبات
ان الغايات التي تسعى اليها انكلترا في آفريقية
الجنوبية تحافظ على المنافع الحاضرة والآتية
لزنوج آفريقية والانسانية عموماً وللعالم
الاسلامي خصوصاً .

وان تمنى نجاح البوير بظفرهم على
الانكلز مغزاه تمنى بقاء اهالي آفريقية
المظلومين في حجر الظلم وقبور الذل الى
الابد وحرمان الانسانية من التكامل وعدم
نيل الامة الاسلامية ما تحتاج اليه من الحرية

والمزايا التي تجوز مركزاً مخصوصاً لها . مهماً في
ميدان الحضارة والسياسة .

انه لجدير بالخير والدهشة ما عليه
آراء اوربا العمومية وما يجري في محافلها
السياسية من المحاكمات والتخمينات ضد هذه
الحقائق .

لقد علم منذ عهد بعيد ان دول اوربا
تنظر الى انكلترا بعين الرقيب وتكن في
صدرها آمالاً وترى مكاند ضد شوكتها
وعظمتها وانكلترا توفقت اني تأسيس دولة
عظيمة لم ير مثله على وجه الارض منذ
خلقت الدنيا والى تطبيق ادارتها على دستور
ما كان حتى الآن في وسع عقل البشر

ان يتصور ابداع منه واحد . ولكن انكلترا
تحافظ على مالها من الشرف والحقوق
والمنافع الخصوصية وتدافع عنه في جهات
الدنيا كلها بقوتها البحرية المدهشة وتحسم
بتأثير قوتها الادبية في الحال كل مسألة او
حادثة سياسية من شأنها زلزال التوازن

العمومي الخادم لهما الحقوق والمنافع وترتب
باتفاقات دولية سرّاً وخفية بقصد ايصال
المضار اليها وتنظر انكلترا بدون اهتمام الى
المشاكل السليبية من قبيل القال والقييل
ولا دولة تجترئ على مقاومة قوة انكلترا
جهرّاً علناً ولا ان تظهر نفسها عليها .
فلمسألة الترنسفالية قد ابدت ما لكل

دولة وقوم من الاحساسات والنظريات
نحو انكثرتا واثبتت واضحا ان المصادمة
قريبة الوقوع ولا مندوحة عنها بين العنصر
الانكليزي الذي يرتقى ويتعالى بشرط ان
يحصل على حرية العالم وحضارته ويزيد
فيهما وبين العنصر الذي تخيل ملك الدنيا
باستعباد الاقوام الشرقية عامة

اما نتيجة هذه المصادمة المدهشة
فمن احد العنصرين الرقيين على ظفهره
على الآخر وظفر الاول يكون خادما لتكمل
الانسانية كلها ويفتح ايضا محجة الارتقاء
للاقوام الشرقية عموما واما ظفر الثاني فينتج
توقف المدنية العمومية ودخول الاقوام

الشرقية تحت نير استعباد تزهق الارواح شدة
وطئه ولا يطاق ثقله فلا يجوز اذن لاهل الشرق
ابدا ان يكونوا غافلين عن هذه المصادمة التي
من شأنها اللقاء مجددهم واستقبالهم في اعظم الخطر
والتهلكة وخصوصا ان الغفلة عن هذا الهول
العظيم حرام على المسلمين وهم اهالي المنطقة
التي تكون محل الحملة الاولى وتصبغ بدم
العنصرين اللذين يشتبكان متعاقبين في القتال
والكفاح يجتهد احدهما للحصول على حرية
العالم الانساني باسره والاخر لتقيده كله
بقيود الاسر والاستعباد فنظرا الى هذا
الامر القطيع يجب على كل مسلم وبالاخص
على كل عثماني ان يهتم بتعيين ما هو محتاج

اليه من التدابير والوسائل كيف يتمكن منها
ويتذرع بها متخذاً في هذا الصدد اسواله
الماضية ووقائعه السياسية مقياساً له لكي
يتقي الشر المنظر ويأمن على منفعه المستقبل
وعليه ان يدقق البحث عن منافع كل دولة
وامة تنوغل في هذه الملحمة الكبيرة التي
تزلزل الجمهور الاسلامي من اساسه وعن
مسلك سياستها وآدابها واخلاقها القومية
وان يعلم يقيناً اية دولة في وسعها ان تقيده
العالم الاسلامي فائدة واية دولة تقدر على
ان تضره ضرراً عظيماً ولاي دولة وجود
سياسي ممكن التوفيق مع سعادته .
وتكمل ايتها يستلزم اضمحلال الاقوام

الشرقية . كل هذا واجب البحث والتدقيق
على كل شرقي وخصوصاً على كل مسلم .
اما الدولة العثمانية فاحسم المنازعات
المزمنة والمهاجمات المتقابلة بين الشرق والغرب
نهائياً يجب عليها ان تتخذ خطة تؤلف بين
منافعها اخصوصية ومنافع الشرق العمومية
اذ انها متوسطة بين الشرق والغرب معتنقة
مدنية الغرب مستندة ظهرها الى الجسم
المشكل منه الشرق حائزة صفة وقدرة
بها تظهر بمظهر المصلح ذي العزم مثل كونها
حارسة للدين المحمدي الذي يضمن السعادة
والعلي للعالم الاسلامي وقائمة باعباء الخلافة
الاسلامية فلندقق الآن بالنظر من نقطة

منافع الدولة العثمانية احوال الدول المختلفة
التي يراقب بعضها البعض على الدوام في سبيل
توسيع المقدرة والمكانة في الشرق وهي
ذوات العلائق مع الشرق واموره .
اول هاته الدول واقواها انكلترا والثانية
روسيا والثالثة فرنسا والرابعة هولندا التي
تشعب منها البوير . ان لانكلترا باعتبار أنها
جزيرة حالة خصوصية ككونها مصنوعة من
كل هجوم وتعرض من الخارج مع هذا
قد عولت على قوتها البحرية فاستولت على
ممالك وسيعة ليس في وسع احد ان يطيل
يده اليها .
وبعد ثورة امريكا في الربع الاخير

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من القرن السابق قد حشرت جميع قوتها
في امتلاك الهند وفي تكثير علاقاتها التجارية
وتوثيقها بالشرق الاقصى . اما مواصلات
هذه المستعمرات الجسيمة ومواردها
فمضونة من كل تعرض تحت كفالة القوة
البحرية وضمانها . ولكن بما ان الملك العثماني
كان جهة التهديد الخارجي وان العنصر
الوحيد المستعد لاجراء الحكومة المائز القوة
في الهند ان كان فهو العنصر الاسلامي فيها
قدرة انكلترا في خلال القرن الماضي مكانة
الدولة العثمانية واهميتها ومنفعة اكتسابها
القوة والمكانة بشرط ان تكن عوناً لها
وظهيراً وتاريخ دولتنا السياسي للقرن الاخير

يثبت كيف اظهر هذا التقدير آثاره الفعلية
وما اثره النافعة .
ان نابليون الكبير توجه الى الممالك
العثمانية بقوة جندي اعددها لكسر قوة انكلترا
فاستولى على مصر وهدد الهند فاحرق انكلترا
بقوتها البحرية الاسطول الفرنسي امام
ابوقير ثم اركبت عساكر فرنسا سفنهم وردتهم
الى بلادهم خاسرين وكانوا في مصر تحت قيادة
الجنرال «كلير» الذي راح ضحية في سبيل
اعتسافه بخنجر المعادي الشهير سليمان الحلبي
(طيب الله روحه واسكنه جنة)
الفردوس الاخرى .
دولة فرنسا كانت سبباً مستقلاً لحو

اساطيل الدولة العثمانية في « ناوارين » حين
داخلت في امورها حارباً بالحصول على استقلال
اليونان عنها ثم استفادت من فقدان القوة البحرية
فانترعت من يدنا حالاً جزائر الغرب ثم
طاحت بانصارها الى مصر مرة ثانية فاغرقت
محمد علي والي مصر على دولته المتبوعة حتى
اعطته امنية اخذ العرش العثماني واحراز
شرفه ليكون خادماً لا غرضها وآمالها .
واما انكلترا فلم تكن في اثناء هذه
المسألة المصرية التي كانت اهم العوائل المهددة
وجود الدولة العثمانية باظهار مظاهر سياسة
يابسة ترجع الى دولة محبة بل خصصت
لخدمة الدولة العثمانية وزراءها وامراء بحرها

وبرها وسفراءها وعمالها السياسيين كلهم ولم تجل بشئ في هذا الشأن يمكن صدوره من يد الانسان من الهمة والغيرة والجهاد والاجتهاد حتى ظفرت بابطال السم القتال الذي تحتوي عليه معاهدة «خنكار اسكله سي» [معاهدة عقدتها روسيا مع الدولة كما شاءت] وباجباط الغلبات المتوالية التي احرزها محمد علي المستظهر بفرنسا والمعتمد عليها في جميع أموره . ثم اضطرت انكثرتا الدول نهائياً وبينهن روسيا وفرنسا الى تصديق استقلال الدولة العثمانية في شؤونها السياسية وتناميها الملكي بمعاهدة لندن . وقد قاومت روسيا خروج محمد علي

واستيلاءه على الدولة . لتتبع التحاق عنصر جديد بجسم الدولة الذي عدته بالياً يأتيه بحياة جديدة . وبينما كانت روسيا تفرح باعتقادها ان الدولة العثمانية وصات حالة لا يبدو منها بعدها اثر حياة اعلنت ونشرت «التنظيمات الخيرية» التي فتحت سبيل ارتقاء الدولة العثمانية وأمتها وزالت بمساوى الاعمال الداخلية الخائلة دون انتظام الادارة وتحسينها ومع ذلك كانت الدولة قد اخذت في كسب القوة والشوكة كسباً خارقاً للمعادة فعزمت روسيا على ابادء الدولة العثمانية او حطها الى حالة تتبع فيها امرها ونهياها . وارادت من جهة ان تحمل الدولة

العثمانية بواسطة منجقوف على قبول تكاليف لها تأخذ بها الدولة تحت مطلق التبعية الروسية واهتمت من جهة اخرى باجتذاب انكثرتا اليها باظهار انها مستعدة لترك مصر وجزيرة كريد لها اذا وافقت على مطالبها فانكثرتا فضلا عن انها لم تقبل باماني روسيا واقترحاتها في هذا الشأن ردت دعاويها التي اتت بها ضد حقوق فرنسا القديمة المتعلقة بأرض فلسطين فعززت انكثرتا هذه الحقوق وضعاً وموقعاً بابطال تلك الدعاوى واستفادت بهذا الوجه من الاميال التي ابداهها نابوليون الثالث الذي كان يروم اسقاط عهدة « فينا » القاضية نصاً على آل

« بونابارت » بالرمزان من حق السلطنة . فجاءت بريطانيا العظمى على روسيا بحرب القريم حرباً برية وبحرية . اما نابوليون الثالث امپراطور فرنسا فتعلق بامنية هي مخالفة روسيا لاجل المقصد الخصوصي عينه (اي تجزئة الدولة العثمانية) فعمل على اقفال الحرب التي باشرها معولا على الاتحاد مع انكثرتا ومبتغياً به ايجاد وتوفير العلاقات السياسية مع انكثرتا وهي التي احتاج اليها لجرد تثبيت عرشه وتاجه فرغماً عن ذلك لم تزل انكثرتا تجتهد في سبيلها رامية الى غايات سامية هي اولا تجريد البحر الاسود من كل استعداد واحتمال لان يكون

يوماً ما بحيرة روسية وثانياً تشكيل هيئة قوية
اسلامية في استطاعتها مقاومة روسيا على كل
حال وثالثاً استرداد القريم والقوقاس من يد
روسيا وتسليمها لتلك الحياة .

وافهمت فرنسا والنمسا انها لا ترضى
ابداً بترك المحاصصة والقتال ما لم تظفر بنتيجة
مثل هذه في اول الامر وانها لا تقف تحارب
روسيا متفقة مع الدولة العثمانية حتى تؤمنها
على مستقبلها ضد جميع الفواجع والكوارث .
فعزم انكلترا وثباتها على هذا المسلك
ادى الى عقد الصلح على انفع الشروط وافضلها
للدولة العثمانية بما فيه اخذ استقلال ادارتها
تحت تصديق اوربا وضمانها عموماً ودخول

الدولة حوزة الدول العظام .
ومما يقضى بالعجب العجاب ان
الامبراطور نابوليون الثالث قد اقترح في
غضون ذلك على الدول اعطاء طرابلس الغرب
مع تونس الى ساردنيا على ان يسترد هاهنا
بعد حين ومراكش الى فرنسا ومصر الى
انكلترا (باخذ هذه البلاد عنوة من ايدي
أصحابها الشرعيين) . اقترح امبراطور فرنسا
ذلك كله على الدول المسيحية مع ان عهد
باريس الذي يضمن ويكفل السلامة الملكية
للدولة العثمانية لم يكن جف مداده تماماً كما
لا تمسح بعد الدماء المرافقة في سبيلها من
وجه الارض .

أما اللورد « بالمرستون » (رئيس الوزارة
الانكليزية وقتئذ) فبعث بالكتاب الآتي
الصورة الى ناظر خارجية انكلترا اللورد
« فلارندون » وهو من أعضاء مؤتمر باريس
بصفة مرخص أول لدولته وصورة ذلك
الكتاب الناطق بالشهامة والمروءة هي

« ان اللورد قوولثي » مهما استعجل في
الايضاح والتصريح للامبراطور باننا رفضنا
الاقتراح المتعلق بافريقية فذلك خير . لقد
يحتمل ان كثيراً من البلاد لو دخل تحت
حكم انكلترا وفرنسا وساردنيا لكان احسن
حظاً وحيث ان كلاً من ايطاليا وصقلية
واسبانيا مثال لذلك فلا لزوم للاطباب فيه

بعيداً عن المقصد ولكن أهمية المخالفة
المستحكمة بين انكلترا وفرنسا قد استندت
الى القوة المعنوية الادبية التي هي اساس هذه
المخالفة اكثر من استنادها الى قوتي الدولتين
البرية والبحرية . ولا مقصد من محالقتنا
هذه الا مقاومة كل تعرض لا يقارن حقاً
وانقاذ الضعيف المظلوم من قبضة الغالب
المتحكم عليه والمحافظة على التوازن الملكي
الحاضر للدول فكيف نجترى الآن على
تطبيق ما يعلم من مبادئ اقتسام لهستان
(بولونيا) على افريقية بجعل انكلترا تستولى
على مصر وفرنسا على مراكش وساردنيا
على تونس وجوارها ؟ لاسيما ان انكلترا

نهائياً ان نابوليون لا يصحح لاجلها مخالفة
انكلترا عفواً اقبلت تطلق مدافع التهم
والمفتريات على الدولة العثمانية وتصب على
رأسها تجاه اوروبا اعتراضات هي اشد تأثيراً
من مرامي المدافع وقنابلها . حتى اثار
الاروم في بادئ الامر ويدهم احدث ثورة
كريد المشنومة ثم شفعها بايقاع العصيان
والتمرد بين رعية الدولة المسيحيين في ولايتي
البوسنة والهرسك .

فاجتهد انكلترا وحدها وجهادها في
تسكين تينك الثورتين لاسيما في ابطال
محتويات تلك اللائحة المعهودة التي رتبها
الكونت اندراسي (وزير النمسا الاول)

وفرنسا قد أخذتا عهداً على انفسهما بالمحافظة
على السلامة الملكية لتركيا والى أى حق تعمد
هاتان الدولتان اذا قامتا بالتعرض لحقوق
سلطان العثمانيين الشرعية والملكية ونزع
مصر وتونس وغيرهما من يده ؟ »

فهذا الكتاب القاطع ردت انكلترا
اقترح امبراطور فرنسا المتعلق بتجزئة تركيا
وتجزئتها واخراج شواطئ البحر المتوسط
الجنوبية من ملك المسلمين .

أما روسيه فانتظرت عدة سنين
تترقب الاحوال والظروف مؤملة ان فرنسا
بهمتها المعهودة تفسخ مخالفة الدولتين وتنكث
بعهد باريس الدولي الا ان روسيا لما علمت

من وقاحة .

وانكلترا لم تجد سبيلا الى معاونة الدولة
فعلاً وخرباً لان الآراء العمومية في اوروبا
كانت عليا بسبب وقائع بلغاريا المؤلمة فاوصت
الدولة اكيداً باتخاذ التدابير الاصلاحية
وتطبيقها سريعاً بحيث تسكن الاميال الهائجة
المأخجة في اوروبا علينا وتسد القروح التي فتحتها
في شؤون الدولة مساوئ الادارة المركزية
بمد ضياع عالي باشا وقد علمت انكلترا ان
الدولة العثمانية تبقى وحدها في هذا المضمار
مخاطرة بمنافعها وحياتها بعد ان زردت المقترحات
في شأن الاصلاحات حتى ازلت كل قوة
وماهية الاصلاحات الاساسية التي اعلنت

وبلغها وزارات الدول نتيجة لمذاكرات
الامبراطورين الثلاثة واثراً لتحالفتهم على
وقائع البوسنة والهرسك ونظمت اخيراً في
برلين ثم نجاح انكلترا في القضاء عليها كل ذلك
لمن المشروعات السياسية التي توضح كيف
ان السياسة الانكليزية متينة ومتمقة بحيث
تشهد لها بكل رشد وصواب .

لما شعرت روسيا ان سياسة اوربا التي
وجدتها موافقة لمنافعها وان ادارة تركيا
الداخلية اخذت استعداداً يؤول الى تحول
عظيم في العالم السياسي فلئلا تضيع الفرصة
تصدت وهي وحدها لهدم بناء الدولة العثمانية
الحائزة القبول والوداد في العالم بدمر فياها

جلب امن الناس واعتمادهم انها عامة شاملة
بدلاً من الاصلاحات الخصوصية التي
اقترحتها اوربا للبغايا فقط.

ثم بعد هذا لمنع روسيا من تدمير
الدولة العثمانية وجدت انكلترا تدبيراً يدفع
احتمال الحرب ووقوعها بوسائط سياسية
مطلقاً ويرفع كل خلاف من بين روسيا
والدولة العثمانية التي تحققت انكلترا انها
تحارب وحدها دولة الروس وعلى حسابها
فقط فمضت دولة انكلترا في هذا الصدد
لتدارك الامر بالتي هي احسن وصلت الى
درجة استهدفت فيها بنفسها المطاعن شديدة
من الحزب الحر الانكليزي المفرط الافكار

في الاحساسات الانسانية المغلوب لهوى
الحرية وكذلك هجمت على دولة انكلترا
مطبوعات اوربا المدعية الغيرة على النصرانية
تسلقها بالسنة حداد حتي اخذت تطعن في
الامة الانكليزية باقوال ثقيلة مثل قولها ان
الانكليز تهنّدوا وتمسلموا اى ماثلوا الهنود
والمسلمين مذهباً وخلقاً واستبدلوا فعلاعمامة
المسلم باكليل الصليب.

وبعد ما اعلمت دولة انكلترا الدولة
العثمانية بصورة رسمية قطعاً انها لا تشاركها
في الحرب وبعد ما لم تبقى محلاً ولا لزوماً
للحرب بقرار دولي يسمى « بروتوكول
لندن » رفضت الدولة التركية هذا القرار

ولم تعباً بنصائح انكلترا بل رضيت باعلان هذه
الحرب التي سببت مايفتت الالكباد ويذيق
القلوب من خسائر الدولة ومصائب الامة.
هذه خطيئة سياسية من السيئات والخطايا
التي لا يسمع تاريخ البشر عفوها بسهولة
لمرتكبيها ومع جميع ذلك لم تلبث انكلترا
تسعى جهدها لتخفيف ويلات الدولة حتى
حصلت على وعود قوية أكيدة تؤمنها على
ان الحرب لا يمكن انتهاؤها بكونها ضربة
قاضية على حياة الدولة العثمانية آتية باضمحلها
بالتام . هذا كان بعد ان وقعنا في تلك الغائلة
المدلّمة باختيارنا وارادتنا مدعويين اليها
بانفسنا ومدفوعين وبعد ان اشتد القتال بين

الخصمين القديمين فاستولت على روسيا
هواجس تخيفها من مزايلة انكلترا موقف
الحياة ورأت نفسها مضطرة الى اعطائها
كل ما يؤمنها من الوعود والمواثيق لتتأكد
بهذه الحيازة قالت على نفسها باقوى وعود
تأمينية قد صدرت من القيصر بالذات
مباشرة انها لا تهدد مواسلات السير والسفر
بين الاستانة والهند بوجه من الوجوه
كما لا تتعرض لمصر ولا خليج فارس ولا
لواحدى الفرات في حال من الاحوال وبأى اسم
كان وان الدالة العثمانية متى رغبت في الصالح
قبل وصول الجنود الروسية الى الجهة الجنوبية
من سلسلة جبال « بلكان » فالمخاصمة

تلقى حالا مع ان الصلح يعقد على شرائط خفية بحيث لا تترك مجالا لاقتسام تركيا الاقتسام الذي قد اصبنا به بعد الحرب . هذا الذي اخذت به روسيا على نفسها عهداً وميثاقاً في خلال الحرب بدمه يقصرها واسم دولتها .

يصدق العثمانيون عموماً شاكرين على المعروف دائماً ان ذلك الصك السياسي المهلك للدولة اى ميثاق « آياستفانوس » المتضمن الحكم بالموت عادة على دولة آل عثمان انما يفسر ابطاله بوصول الاسطول الانكليزي لاغاثة الاستانة وتصويبه المدافع الى جيش الروس في « آياستفانوس » بهذا يعترف العثمانيون

جميعاً مدى الدهر باسنان الشكر ان والافتخار وان لم تستفد حكومة الآستانة الحاضرة بشئ مما سبق ذكره من همم انكثرا وخدماتها الخيرية نحو الدولة التركية . انه بعد ماصانت انكثرا مدينة الآستانة

التي هي مركز السلطنة العثمانية من ضربات يد روسيا القوية ووضعت ولايات الروم ايلى في حالة تصالح لا يستقر التوازن العمومي قد حصرت انظار اهتمامها في آسيا العثمانية الواقعة تحت تهديدات روسيا فمنحت الدولة العثمانية عهداً لها تقاوم كل تعرض روسي ضدها بقواها البرية والبحرية على شرط ان الدولة تعد لانكثرا باجراء الاصلاحات

العمومية الحقيقية في جميع البلاد الشاهانية وان الجنود الانكليزيه تتمكن من الاقامة في موقع مهم قريب من آسيا العثمانية وان ذلك الموقع لا يعتبر خارجاً من الخيزر للملكي العثماني فقد امضيت عهدة قبرص متضمنة هذه التعهدات المتقابلة بين الدولة العثمانية وبريطانيا العظمى قبل ان انتظمت عهدة برلين .

ان هذا الاتفاق التدافعي المعقود المعصي بين انكثرا والدولة مقابل تصحية جزيرة مهمة جسيمة لمثل قبرص يعتبر عند العثمانيين وثيقة ذات قيمة عظيمة لسلامتهم المستقبلية وعروة اعتصام اسعادتهم الآتية من حيث

يرون فيه ما يؤمنهم على حياتهم السياسية ويدفع عنهم تعرضات روسيا المضرة التي تحوم حولنا وتنجس بين ايدينا واعيننا كالمثنية المغتالة الهائلة ويعتقدون انه تلتئم به جروح الادارة السيئة التي هي العلة المزمنة المهلكة لجسم الدولة وان لم تحصل حكومة الآستانة حتى الآن على فائدة تري ولا ثمرة ناتجة من ذلك الاتفاق الناجع النافع .

اما مسألة مصر التي هي من اهم المسائل الخادمة الصالحة لدوام العلاق السياسية بين انكثرا والدولة العثمانية ولاحكام روابط الحب والوداد بينهما على انها اعظم مسألة حيوية للعالم الاسلامي فتأني بكلام عليها بالمناسبة .

ان وجود الدولة العثمانية السياسي قد
قدرت خدمته في انكسار المنافع انكسار المليية حق
قدرها من يوم عين الورد «چاماتا» الشهير
مسلك انكسار السياسي في هذا الصدد بقوله
« ان كل انكليزي لا يقدر اهمية سلامة الدولة
العثمانية الملكية بالتمام وفائدتها لمجنون في
نظري فلا اتنازل لتوجيه الخطاب اليه » من
ذلك العهد قد انعطفت النظائر انكسار الى مصر
والي بوغازي الا ستانة اللذين هما نقطتا
التقرر لمدار الحامية العثمانية على نحو تقطعي
الاحترق للشكل البيضي وفتح قتال السويس
قد زاد الى درجة الاهمية الموقعية التي هي
لمصر من قديم الايام كما زاد حرص انكسار

على دوام ارتباط هذا الاقليم المهم بالملك
العثمانية .
فبريطانيا العظمى هي كانت السبب
الوحيد في تنزيل محمد على منزلة والي ايلة
بعد ان اكتسب القوة بحيث يزول به عرش
السلطنة العثمانية وكذلك في بقاء ولاية مصر
مقيدة بشرط اظهارها الصداقة الكاملة
للذات الشاهانية والتبعية المطلقة لقوانين
الدولة العمومية في حق تولد عائلة محمد
على لها .
فبريطانيا العظمى هذه ما زالت تذكر
الدولة العثمانية بلسان خالص بالاضرار
السياسية المتولدة من المسامحات التي ظهرت

اخيراً في توسيع امتياز حق التوارث
المخصوص بعائلة محمد على وافراغه في شكل
وقالب يدلان على ان ادارة مصر قد انقلبت
ممتازة بنفسها مستقلة عن سيدها .
اما فرنسا فتخيت في نفسها من ذا
وذاك ان حاكمية البحر المتوسط تعود اليها
لاحالة وقد ثبتت بالا قوال الرسمية والمبادئ
السياسية للموكها الذين جاؤا منذ عهد « سن
لوني » وبما هرفت وتشبث به منها هيآت
الادارة المتأسسة في فرنسا بعد ان اعازمة
عزماً وطيداً على ضبط سواحل افريقية
الشمالية وتستخيرها تحت قبضتها للحصول
على آمالها الملكية من ذلك القبيل .

ان فرنسا اذ خرجت من مؤتمر
براين خاتبة لا نصيب لها في شيء من اجزاء
تركيا انفعات جدا فجراً لتقصاها انتزعت
تونس من يدنا خاطنة باغية وهددت الدولة
العثمانية اذ صرحت لها رسمياً انها ان ارسلت
الاسطول الحياه ني للمحافظة على حقوقها
السلطانية في تونس ارسلته الى ناوارين الثانية
وتعبير اوضح يصيب ذلك الاسطول ما
اصاب اخاه الاول في واقعة « ناوارين »
(وقد مر في هذه العجالة ما فتمته فرنسا
ظلاً - باساطيل دولتها في ناوارين) فانبت
فرنسا بذلك انما غير فارغة من الآمال
المتعلقة بالاستيلاء على مصر .

فبينما كانت انكلترا تعطف بإبصارها الى مصر مترودة الابتصار والاحتياط أكثر من كل وقت ضد أعمال فرنسا وتصدياتها هذه اخذت حادثة عراقى المعهودة تبدو في مصر. وهذه الحادثة مع كونها مما لا يعتد به ولا يتم كثيراً في زمن السلم أصبحت ذات أهمية عظيمة تقاوى الخواطر إنما اقلق من حيث حدثت ومالك مصر الحقيقي ما ازاح بهد عن حيز ملكه ما ينفج القلوب من الحوادث الملمة به الناتجة من حرب تدهش الالباب وإدارة مصر الخديوية تضطرب أشد اضطراب في أزمة مالية حالكة الظلام مصادفة زماناً قد استولت فرنسا فيه على تونس فزع ذلك

ما توخت انكلترا مقصداً سوى تعزيز حقوق الدولة العثمانية على مصر والمحافظة عليها فما طلبت تدبيراً غير استعمال القوة العثمانية في تسكين الفتنة العراقية . اما فرنسا فباحث الى الدولة بانها تخالف المداخل العثمانية شؤون مصر بشدة وان ترضى ان يضع من الاتراك عسكري قدمه في مصر ولو واحداً فبذلك اظهرت فرنسا انها تتر من تونس الى مصر قواً حاملة باخذ ثار « سن لوى » اخذاً يشفي غليلها تماماً فقد ازدادت هواجس الانكليز من هذه الاطوار الفرنسية . ثم ان ما أبدته فرنسا من الافعال التى كلها نفاق في نفاق وتلون على تلون ولا يمكن التأليف

بينها وبين أعمال انكلترا الجديدة المتينة وكذلك ما التزمته الدولة الحاكمة من التردد والاحجام في المسألة المصرية قد ألقيا بالمسألة في أزمة الخبايا الرسمية والمفاوضات الدولية حتى ادت اطوار الثوار في مصر الى درجة اضطرت انكلترا فيها الى استعمال القوة العنيفة .

كان الاسطول الفرنسى يسير جنياً بجانب مع الاسطول الانكليزى ثم بارح مرسى الاسكندرية هارباً منه لما آن اوان الشروع فى اطلاق المدافع عليها ومحاصرتها وجرت مذاكرات في برلمان باريس في ان سوق القوة العثمانية لاطفاء الثورة العراقية

سياسة مهلكة لمنافع فرنسا في أفريقية دارت هذه المذاكرات في ذلك البرلمان حالما اصدر المؤتمر الذى اجتمع في الاستانة بشأن هذه المسألة قراراً أعرضه على الدولة واقترح به عليها استعمال الحق السلطانى بسوق القوة العثمانية الى مصر والقيام بوظيفة المتبوع كل ذلك قد اظهر وأبان ان مقصد فرنسا الوحيد هو اسقاط حقوق السلطنة السنية المتعلقة بأفريقية واجباط كل مالاخلافه الاسلامية من النفوذ والروابط فيها وازالته بالتمام . لما قرر المؤتمر المجتمع في الاستانة دعوة الدولة الى تسخير الجنود الى مصر اجتمع البرلمان في باريس ففاد المسيو « غامبتا » انفذ

رجال فرنسا كلمة واثمة ترجمان لرأيها العام على المجمع بهذه العبارة وهي « انه من المحتمل ان المؤتمر يقرر تفويض تسكين مصر الى الاتراك فعلى رأي ان هذا القرار اضر قرار فلا تقبل فرنسا به انت المحيى بالتركي امام الاهرام مرة ثانية يكون لنا لعباً بالار في تونس والجزائر .

ان ايصال التركي الى مصر مرة اخرى تحت رأيتنا هو قول للشرق اجمع ان الخليفة حاكمكم . وفي ذلك ابادة سياسة فرنسا منذ خمسين عاماً لا خمسين انا غلطت بل سياسة فرنسا منذ بضعة اعصار في وادي النيل . ان كنت ارى طواير السلطان المنتظمة

طواير الخليفة مرة اخرى امام الجامع الازهر على ان يكون ذلك مصاباً علينا فلا بد ان نودع آمال فرنسا المتعلقة بمصر واماننا المتعلقة باحرار الفرنسيين الشرف والحاكية في مصر . هذه الخطبة قد صورت آمال فرنسا المتعلقة بمصر واحساساتها التي تربها ضد مقام الخلافة بحيث لا تبقى لزوماً لوصفها وشرحها .

احساسات فرنسا الغربية هذه اي تدليسات الذين يحبون تحري وسائل تضعف اتحاد منافع انكلترا مع الدولة العثمانية كافية لا يحتاج ماهية الاحوال السرية التي سببت ظهور الخطايا المتواليمة المتعلقة بمسألة مصر

حتى من يوم بدايتها وكافية لتعيين العلة لممانعة سفير فرنسا الوفاق الذي نظمه « درو موندوولف » اخيراً واقترن بتصديق الملكة وقبولها .

قد بحثنا بالتدقيق في مسألة مصر المهمة وستنشر عن قريب على حدة في شكل رسالة مخصوصة تبين الخطايا الواقعة فيها والمسئولية المتولدة منها .

وكما ان مصر تصلح لشأن هيئة قوية اسلامية ولدوام قوة الخلافة القدسية كذلك لا بد لشأن هذه الهيئة القوية وحياة الدولة العثمانية السياسية من الاتفاق مع انكلترا والائتلاف بها وفرض مصر انها ممانعة لدوام

اتحادنا مع الانكليز واتلافنا بهم بلية عظيمة على العالم الاسلامي كما انه مصيبة كبيرة على الدولة العثمانية . فهما تأثر كل مسلم وكل عثماني ضد هذه الحالة يحق له ذلك ونحن نتسلى مع ذلك باننا مطمئنون متأكدون لا آمالون متمنون بزوال المشاكل العارضية المانعة لانقلاب الاختلاف اتلافاً وبعودة الرابطة الصحيحة التي هي من الحاجات الضرورية للمنافع المتقابلة واستقرارها .

منذ احتلت انكلترا مصر بقوتها الجندية مضت ثمانية عشر عاماً . مع هذا بقي ارتباطها المعنوي بمقام الخلافة الاعلى مصوناً وارتباطها الملكية والسياسية مع الدولة العثمانية التي هي

من اقسامها المهمة محفوظة .

والادارة الخديوية وصلت حالة انتظام
تمنح الامن للعموم وقد توهن ما استحكم
في مصر من نفوذ الاجنبي ومدخلاته اكثر
من جميع الممالك الشرقية ووضعت في مصر
موضع التطبيق مقدمات قريبة من قواعد
الشورى وحكمة الحكومة هذه واجبة
الامثال على الهيئة الاسلامية كلها المبشرة
بالفلاح والفوز والصالح في اجراء الحكومة
ضمن دائرة الحكومة القرآنية واتباع الحكم
الجليل لقوله تعالى وشاورهم في الامر وقد
ثبت في مطر ان كلاً من حرية الفكر
وحرية الكلام وحرية المطبوعات ممكن التطبيق

والعمل به في العالم الاسلامي مع المحافظة
على كل ما يضمنه الدين الحمدي والمدنية
الحاضرة من الحقوق المدنية والآداب
العمومية والحرية الشخصية .

نذكر بلسان الاستحسان ما يؤيده
الى الامة من الخدمات النافعة ارباب الاقلام
في مصر واصحاب الجرائد وفي مقدمتها
جريدة المؤيد التي اشتهرت بالمجاهدات
المتابعة في خدمة المنافع العمومية ونقدر
مازاه كتتمثال من الهمم الدالة على المعالي
لحضرة محررها صاحب الحمية .

لكننا لانجد مندوحة عن تذكير
هؤلاء الكتاب الفضلاء اننا نعد ذلك العويل

والصياح دليلاً على وجود الحرية التي تمنح
الحق والمساغ لمن يريد الاعتراض على كل
شيء من اعمال الرجال ويحب انتقاده .
لا ريب في ان غاية انكارنا من مداخلها
هذه في مصر وخدماتها لتقدم مصر والمصريين
وابلاغهم الكمال هي المحافظة على مواصلها
البحرية وتأمينها على منافعها التجارية اسكن
اذا كان الانكيز يتجهدون وعلى رؤسهم
الطرايش وامامهم الهلال في توسيع الخوذة
المصرية وهي جوقة عثمانية بالاضافة ويحكمون
رابطة اتحاد السودان الذي هو المنقطة
الاسلامية بافريقية فلا بد لنا من الاعتراف
بوجوب القبول والتسليم ان الاتحاد والاتلاف

محض نفع وخير للعالم الاسلامي وتدير
وحيد لبقاء حياة الدولة العثمانية مع ان تلك
الخدمات المهمة تضمن الانكيز المنافع التي
تعود بها عليهم .

لا سبيل للانكار ان كافة المستعمرات
الانكيزية الشاسعة المرامي الواسعة النواحي
تستفيد هي وساكنوها من خطة الاعتدال
المتخذة في الادارة الانكيزية وهي عروتها
الوثقى المعلقة على تقديم العباد وعمران البلاد
وان الاقوام الاسلامية الحاضرة مراكز مهمة
في هاته المستعمرات اكثر اهاليها استفادة
من ادارتها .

واذا أخذنا الهند مثلاً لمبحثنا هذا

نجد ان مستعمرة الهند الجسيمة لما أخذت
من يد الشركة قبل نصف قرن اى ادارة
دولة انكلترا ووضع اساس ادارتها موضع
البحث والتفحص بين الانكليز اوضح اللورد
« دربي » رئيس الوزارة الانكليزية وعميد
حزب المحافظين وقمئذ حقيقة انظار انكلترا
نحو الهند وصور تصميماها المتعلقة بالادارة
الهندية في خطبة قل فيها « ان الاقوام الهندية
لم يدركوا منزلة يستفيدون فيها من مبادئ
الادارة الاوربية قطما وان كانت حقيقة قاسم
بها اليوم فهي التصريح بحان الاجتهاد في اجراء
الاقوام الهندية اقتدرا واسما على اشتراكهم
معنا في ادارة شؤونهم الداخلية الى درجة

يسمح بها العقل والحكمة وظيفه لنا توجبه
علينا فوائد البشرية والاخلاق والديانة . ان
اولئك الاقوام باستعمالهم حق الادارة تحت
حماية انكلترا وتحت قانون انكلترا يتوفقون
الى معرفة مزايا قانون انكلترا والى التقليد
لقانون انكلترا وربما نجحوا يوماً في وضع
قانون اكمل منه .

فان كان احراز هذه الامة حق الادارة
على التدرج ينتج امنية اشتراكها معنا في
امورها السياسية عدا امورها المدنية اشتراكاً
زداد سعة واستحكاماً - ان كانت آمال
الهنديين وعواطفهم تنبسط حتى تنتج سقوط
قدرة انكلترا وحكومتها في الهند - ان كانت

حكومة انكلترا التي تحكم اليوم الهند بتلك
القدرة تنتحر بيدها بعد بضعة اعصار فامتنا
المعظمة تظل ذات المآثر الشريفة جميلة
الذكرى على الدوام ويديت الهنديون معترفين
لنا بمقتدا وفضلنا عليهم على مرور الايام لاننا
نكون قد انقذناهم من ظلمة الجهل ومن ربة
البطلان وجعلناهم محرزي الاقتدار على ادارة
شؤونهم بانفسهم ادارة مستقلة بماقد علمناهم
اياهم من قوانين العدل ومبادئ الادارة مع
كيفية الاستفادة منها « انتهى كلام اللورد
« دربي » المنبئ عن نظريات انكلترا في حق
مستعمراتها الهندية .
فيادى الادارة المستندة الى افكار

سامية مثل هذه لا بد ان تكون سامية أيضاً
وتطبيقاتها على البلاد تكون ولا شك نافعة
لها واثمارها جيدة طيبة بلا ريب .
هذه الادارة المستندة الى نوايا شريفة
وانظار حكيمة مثل التمتع بنبعة المدلة وتحوير
ما يمنع من معرفة شرف الانسان من الاحوال
الادبية والمقاصد السياسية والمعتقدات الباطلة
الى احسن ما يمكن قليلا قليلا وازالته تدريجاً
وفتح طريقة التمدن والتكامل اللذين ينتظران
من مساعي الانسان المتوالية . هذه الادارة
قد فوضت الى اعظم رجال من الانكليز قد
سلكوا بهزهم وهمهم بمستعمرة الهند مسلك
الارتقاء والتقدم بعناد الصحيح ومستعمرة

الهند هذه جسيمة مهمة بحيث يصح ان يقال عنها انها عالم مخصوص مستقل بذاته عن غيره نظراً الى اهمية موقعها ووفرة نفوسها وكثرة منابع ثروتها الطبيعية وخيراتها الكثيرة . فلا يجوز اليأس من ادراكها يوماً ما اقصى مراتب الحضارة بمنها كله .

ان كانت للعنصر المسحى «انغلوساكسون» فضيلة مخصوصة به لم يعهد مثلها في الامم السالفة ولا المعاصرة وله قدرة وذكاء خارق العادة فهما تقديره هذه الحقائق الدقيقة حق قدرها واتخاذ هذه الدقائق دستوراً للعمل والامثال في كافة الاحوال والمعاملات .

هذه الطبقة العليا البشرية التي تسمى «انغلوساكسون» تقيس الحضارة على درجة الحرية ودرجة الحرية على حسن استعمال حق الوصاية وتوازن اسعى مراتب العدل على الامانى والآمال القابلة للاتساع اتساعاً غير محدود عند كل قوم وفرد قد احرز شرف الانكليزية .

ان الانكليز بفضل سلوكهم مسلكاً سامياً مثل هذا قد فاقوا سائر الاقوام والامم درجات بحيث يمكن ان يشبه بهم الرومانيون القدماء لان يساوا .

ان الرومان كانوا يسوقون جيشاً لرفع ادارة قد اسسها والي ايلة اكتسب القوة

والمكينة واما الانكليز فيسوقون جيوشاً ورجالاً لتأمين انكليزى على منافعه التجارية ومقاصده السياسية اسس متجراً عظيماً او اسس ادارة دولة في اجهل بقاع الارض .

ان عنصر انغلوساكسون قد اقام حكومة وشوكة ومدنية لم يعهد لها مثيل على وجه الارض وما ذلك الا لان نطاق الامانى والتشبثات الشخصية قابل للاتساع عنده بصورة غير محدودة ولان القوة الحاكمة المركزية الانكليزية معطونة ومقصورة على المحافظة على روح كل انكليزى وشرفه وعلى تأمينه على ادنى منافعه ولو كان اقل قومه . ان اللورد « ريتون » الذى اشتهر

بعلو العزم وحرية الفكر اكثر من غيره بين ولاة الهند مع انه قد اعترف بوجوب التوسل بالاسباب التي تؤكد لانكثرا منافعها في الهند مادامت الهند تحت الادارة الانكليزية قد قال بوجوب الدلالة لتبعية انكثرا الهنديين على طريقة استغنائهم عن انكثرا فقام بجملة الاصلاحات التي طبقها على الحكمة التي يتضمنها هذا الفكر .

لقد شرع اللورد ريتون في الاصلاحات الادارية من القرى فابقى الهيآت الصلحية في الحكمة القرى بالعرف والعادة واصلاح تشكيلات الهيآت التنظيمية التي توجد لدى والى الهند وولاية ممباى ومدارس وغيرها وفي الدوائر

البلدية في المدن ومجالس الاقضية والنواحي
كما اصاح هيآت الشيوخ المأمورة بالنظر
في ادارة ماليات تلك القرى وخصوصاً
السائرة ونظم صور انتخاب الاعضاء لتلك
الهيآت كلها .

هذه التشكيلات الاصلاحية وان
خدمت كثيراً جريان الانتظام في الادارة
المحلية وحصول الهند على الاشتراك في الادارة
فالذي يمكن ان يقال انه مقدمة حياة الهند
القومية والدورة الاولى لادارتها الملمية هو
المجلس العمومي الذي اشتهر باسم « قونغره »
واخذ في الاجتماع منذ عدة سنين بناءً على
تحريض طائفة محبة للهند من اكابر الانكليز

وكتائبهم على ذلك وترغبها فيه .
هذا المجلس العمومي بينما عدد اعضائه
من ستمائة الى الف ومائتين يجتمع مناوبة كل
سنة مدة معلومة في احدى المدن الهندية
الشهيرة فيبحث بالفحص والتدقيق في احوال
السنة الماضية ويصرح بالشكر والثناء ان
كانت للقوانين المنشورة فوائد وحسنات
قد شوهدت ويعرض بها مبيناً الاسباب
الاصلاحية ان كانت قد نشأت عنها اضرار
ويكرر ذكر الشكاوى السابقة ويعدد
الحاجات الجديدة ويذكرها ويبحث بمقتضى
عميق في الادارة الملكية ولاشغال النافعة
العمومية والاحوال المالية وفي المعارف

العمومية وحفظ الصحة والنظامات الصناعية
والتجارية ورفع القحط والوباء وتوسع
ال عمران والحرية ونحو ذلك من المسائل المتعلقة
باحوال الهند الاجتماعية والسياسية ويلي ذلك
او ثلاثة من الاعضاء الموجودين الاكثر بينهم
نفوذاً والافصح بياناً خطباً في هذه المسائل
المهمة ثم يعطى المجلس القرار باكثرية الآراء
وتعرض مطوعات الهند منذ اكرات المجلس
ومقرراته على الانظار العمومية ماخصه لها
ومنتقدة .

هذا المجلس العمومي يترأسه ان اعلى
الهند قد اكتسبوا الاستحقاق لانتقاد ادارة
الامور الداخلية ومراقبتها وان عنصر المسلمين

في الهند بما يجريه ويعمله اعضاؤهم في هاته
المقررات والمذاكرات من النفوذ والتأثير
عنصر قد فاق سائر العناصر نفوذاً واعتباراً
في مستعمرة الهند الانكليزية . واحراز
المسلمين موقع امتياز واقتدار في الهند على
هذا النحو يفرض الى اعتلاء دين الاسلام
شرفاً والى اتساع دائرة الهدى في الهند
وبتأثير قوة ما اعطته ادارة انكلترا تبعثها
من حرية الفكر وحرية الكلام وحرية
الصحافة ونحو ذلك لقد اصبحت مستعمرة
الهند وغيرها من مستعمرات بريطانيا العظمى
على السواء ميداناً لوسيعاً قسحاً لاعلاء كلمة الله .
فتجار المسلمين ومحترفهم يلقبون الديانة

الاسلامية لرفاق تجارتهم وحرفهم وتلاميذهم
من سائر الاقوام وكذلك يفعل مشايخهم
وحجاجهم في الاسواق والنوادي .

ولقد نجح رجل دين يدعي الحاج
محمد في ادخاله دائرة الهدى والرشاد ما
ألف هندي في سنة او سنتين .

وكذلك رجل آخر وهو صفدر علي
قاضي « ناصر آباد » رغب الحدادين في
مدينة « قندش » في قبول دين الاسلام
فاعتقوه كلهم .

وتوجد في المدن الكبيرة كمباي
وكاكوته وبنجالور عروش منصوبة قد
خصصت لتلقين دين الاسلام واظهار فضائله

لمن يشاء فيأتي اليها كل يوم كثير من المنتمين
الى سائر الاديان والمذاهب حتي من
الاوربيين ويهتدون الى دين الاسلام
مستعيرين بانواره الساطعة مستفيضين من
فيوضه الالامة .

فهذا الاسلوب يتوسع نطاق الهدى
الهندي ويهتدى الى الاسلام كل سنة ما بين
خمسين الف نفس الى ستمائة الف من الوثنيين
وغيرهم فقد جاوز عدد المهتدين الى الدين
المحمدى في غضون هذه السنين العشر
الاخيرة ثلاثة ملايين .

هذه المنافع والفوائد التي خولتها الادارة
الانكليزية للامة الاسلامية لقدمة لأت قلوب

المسلمين فرحاً وسروراً كما تركت ملاذ
الخلافة الكبرى في الانسراح والجبور .

لقد بعث بوفد سفارة من الاستانة
الى جانب الهند والافغانستان تحت رئاسة
احمد خلوصى افندي قاضي العسكر قبل
عشرين او ثلاثين سنة ومأمورية هذه
السفارة كانت عبارة عن اعلام امراء المسلمين

وعلمائهم سواء في الهند وفي افغانستان
في اى درجة من الخالصة والمصافاة توجه
العلاق المستحكمة والمكينة بين مقام الخلافة
الكبرى وانكثروا عن احضار الفوائد التي
يحصل عليها العالم الاسلامي من الاتحاد مع
انكثروا وعن اثبات ان الاختلاف الذي

يسمى لاحدائه بينهما رقباء انكثروا الكاشحون
بأنى بصائب سوداء على العالم الاسلامي كله
وعلى الاقوام الشرقية خاصة .

هذه الارشادات الخادمة المديانة وهذه
الوصايا الجديرة بعبد النظر في الوقب وهي
التي القيت للاقوام الاسلاميين وامرائهم
في آسيا باسم الخلافة الاسلامية قد اوضحت
وعينت نظريات مقام الخلافة الكبرى
وتقديراته في حق خطبة انكثروا السياسية
ومن ذلك الوقت الى يومنا هذا ما غيرت
الوقائع الكونية ولا التحولات الدولية ماهية
هذه التقديرات والتجملات قطعاً
ان التوازن الحاضر قد اخل بنظام

الدنيا فالقوى الغربية التي كانت تقاوم الآمال
الجوالة في صدد الاستعباد والاستيلاء دخلت
حيز العدم وخبر كان .

فان فرنسا التي ينبغي ان تكون حارسة الحرية
وعدوة الاستعباد حسب خططها السياسية
وطرز ادارتها الداخلية تتماق الآن راكمة
بركبتها لدولة مستبدة يجدر ان توصف بانها
تمثال منصوب ونصب مشيد للاستبداد
فاظهرت فرنسا بتمثال ذلك انها مستعدة
لتضحية مصالح الاقوام الشرقيين مع استقلالهم
في اغراضها الذاتية لا سيما انها راغبة في ازالة
الخلافة الاسلامية التي هي الجهة الجامعة
للعناصر الاسلامية وفي ابادتها بالتمام .

فبعد ان بينا معاملات انكارتا مع رعيتهما
المسلمين وحققنا كيفية انظارها نحوهم لا بد
لنا من قياس ذلك على ادارة سائر الدول التي
يحكم الآن كثيرًا من بلاد المسلمين
وعلى معاملتها معهم ايضا كما ساهية تلك
المعاملات والانظار اتم وضوح فلنأخذ في
البحث اولاً عن ادارة فرنسا في الجزائر التي
هي من اهم البلاد الاسلامية في افريقية فن
المعلوم انه قد مضت سبعون عاماً كاملاً منذ
وقعت الجزائر تحت ادارة فرنسا وان عدد
المسلمين في الجزائر اليوم اربعة ملايين تامة
ورغمًا عن هذا فلم يحفظوا حتى الآن بحق
في الادارة التي تناسب ادارة بلادهم بانفسهم

او ادارة فرنسا في القسم الذي افرغ في قلبها
بل لم ينالوا من الحقوق الشخصية والتصرفية
ما يناله اى قوم يوجدون تحت اردأ ادارة
في الدنيا .

مع ذلك قد لا ينكر علو فكر الامة
الفرنسية ولا صفاء ضميرها ولا عاطفتها
الصميمية في الحق والعدالة لاسيما حين
استيلائها على الجزائر حتى انها بذلت الطائفة
لامساكين فيها في اول الامر مثل انشاء
الجوامع لهم من جديد بينما لم تكن كنيسة
تنشأ وارسل الحجاج الى الجزائر واعادتهم
منه مجاناً ومعاملتهم بالرفق والعفو عن كثير
من الجرائم والثوارث كما يدور دائماً على

خواطر اهل الانصاف ويذكر بالشكر ان .
اما الآن فما الفائدة من تلك المأثرة
مأثرة الفتوة ومن التزام عدل على ذلك
الاسلوب فان ادارة الجزائر قد بنيت على
افكار اخرى فتغيرت احوال مسلمي الجزائر
واى تغير .

لقد اخذت الحكومة في ادارة الجزائر
على اصول منها تجريد الاهالى القديمة من
المزايا الدينية ومن الكمالات العلمية ودمارها
من كل حق وملك واخراجها من السواحل
رويداً رويداً ومن المدن والقصبات وسوقها
الى الجبال واحلال الفرنسيين محلها وتحويل
الجزائر أرضاً فرنسية وبلدة نصرانية . ق

احتل عمال الحكومة مدن الجزائر بعد الاستيلاء واغتصبت البيوت والاماكن والاملاك من اصحابها وأخذ كثير من الخدائق والضيايع والمزارع خارج مدينة الجزائر من أيدي العرب ووزعت على الفرنسيين حتى ان كثير من هذه الاملاك المنصوبة لم يستطع مالكوها الجديدون ان يديروها ويعملوها فأجروها أصحابها القديمين فصار العرب بذلك مستأجرين بعد ان كانوا متصرفين مالكين .

ان حق تصرف المسلمين تابع للارادة الكيفية فكلما رأت ادارة الجزائر لزوماً وحاجة الاراضى اخرجت اصحابها من

أملأهم ومساكنهم بالعنف والشدة ثم توزعها كيف تشاء على الفرنسيين المستعمرين وغيرهم غير مراعية في ذلك قاعدة ما ولا مفتكرة في اعطاء بدل ما اخذت وأعطت .

أجازت حكومة فرنسا هذا النزاع والتفويض واعتادت بها اعتياداً . كان يوجد في الجزائر كثير من الجوامع والمدارس والعمارات قبل الاستيلاء وكانت العلوم لاتزال تدرس وتعلم ثم وضعت الادارة الفرنسية يدها على جميع ذلك وأمرت بالقبض على حاصلات الاوقاف وبسد المؤسسات الخيرية وعدت المدارس الاسلامية في زمان مانعة لتأسس الحكومة الحاضرة ولا تنتشر المدنية الغربية

فاحدثت مكاتب فرنسوية تختص بالمسلمين بدل المدارس الاسلامية وسعت في اطفاء ما عند اهالي الجزائر المسلمة بالكلية من الانوار العلمية التي كانت لها وفي تركها غير قابلة لاي تمدن وتقدم كان مرجحة لذلك على تنويرها بالعلوم ورامت ابعادها عن دائرة اقامتها شيئاً فشيئاً واحلال العنصر الاوربي محلها وابقاءها في نطاق الطاعة لها بالجبر والقهر اذ ظنت ذلك خيراً لفرنسا من ترك الاهالي المسلمة تعيش في ساحة ما حكموا واراضها .

ومن حيث ان فرنسا فضلت هذه الصور الغربية في ادارة الجزائر الغت مدارسها

الاسلامية واكتفت بتخصيص مائة الف فرنك في السنة لتعليم صبيان اربعة ملايين من المسلمين فيالها من عطية خسيمة لاسيما انه جدير بالدقة والحيرة ان لا توجد في قطعة الجزائر الجسيمة جريدة عربية غير جريدة للحكومة مخصوصة للقررات والاعلانات الرسمية .

ادارة هذا الملك مع كونها بكل فروعها في يد عمال فرنسا من المالكين والعسكريين لا تسمح لمسلم أن يداخل حتى في شؤون البلدية . ودوائر البلدية المستقلة مخصوصة بالمدن والقصبات التي يسكنها الفرنسيون وهذه أيضاً نفوس المسلمين فيها حائرة

الأكثرية وقد قيد حق انتخاب الاعضاء
بقعود وحدود. فمثلاً كل مسلم يستحق انتخاب
اعضاء البلدية لا بد له من ان يكون عمره قد
جاوز خمسة وعشرين عاماً وان تكون مدة
اقامته في تلك البلدة اكثر من سنتين وان
يكون هو مأمور الحكومة أو حامل وسام
فرنسا وهؤلاء المنتخبون ليس لهم ان ينتخبوا
الا ربع من اعضاء البلدية ولا حق اشتراك
لهم في انتخاب رئيس البلدية. أما البلديات
المختلطة فادارتها مفوضة الى مأمور مخصوص
يعين من قبل الحكومة الفرنسية.
وأما مجلس الولايات العمومي فاعضائه
فرنسيون خالصو الفرنسية ومنتخبون من

الفرنسيين فقط. وان وجد في كل مجلس
عمومي ستة ملازمين مسلمين فلا يوجد
عضو مسلم في المجلس الكبير للولاية.
وان كان القسم الأكبر من الجزائر لم
يزل تحت الادارة العسكرية حالاً فلا هالي
القديمة الاسلامية في القسم القانوني تابعة
لحكم قانون خصوصي يأخذهم تحت المسؤولية
الشخصية والاجتماعية في احوال لا تعد من
الجرائم المتنوعة في جهة من جهات الدنيا.
فينصوص هذا القانون يحكم على المسلم بالسجن
ان استأنف دعواه او خسر الدعوى التي
اقامها بداية.
ايثما وقع جرم ولم يظهر فاعله عدت

الجماعة الموجودة مجرمة ومسئولة عنه.
اذا وقع حريق في غابة والفرنسيون
الاستعماريون هم المحرقون لا اكثر الغابات
فالمسلمون يجتهدون في اطفاء الحريق بنذير
ارواحهم لكن الفرنسيين لا يؤخذ احد
منهم تحت المسؤولية بل يبرأ عنها كل منهم
وانما تحمل المسؤولية على عواتق المسلمين
فقط فيجزم على الهيئة المجتمعة منهم بغرام
ثقيلة وتعويضات نقدية.
عمال فرنسا الملكيين كما يعملون المسلمين
محكومين رأساً بسبب احوال كثيرة
وخصومات متنوعة. كذلك لا يوجد حا
مسلم في المواد الجزائية فضلاً عن ان المحلفين

الفرنسيون عموماً واكثر هؤلاء المحلفين
يصدرون على المسلمين احكاماً صارمة ثقيلة
مدهشة بنير حق لما تكنه صدورهم من
شدة الغيظ والسخط على المسلمين ولما عندهم
من الاغراض الرديئة ضدهم.
هذه الحالات التي يصدق وقوعها في
الجزائر حتى المنصفون من اهل فرنسا ثبت
اثباتاً كاملاً كيف يترجم المسلمون حق الحرية
والمساوات كله في الجزائر.
وأما روسيا فلا نرى حاجة للتعريف
كيف تعامل الاقوام الذين ليسوا على دينها
ومذهبها وما هي تدابيرها المتخذة ضدهم.
فان رأيت هي لزوماً لتبديل نظرياتها

في ادارتها السياسية ولتعديل معاملاتها مع
الاقوام السائرة فما دامت في صديحة الآمال
لدور استيلائها وتسير قوتها من الشمال الى
الجنوب وتمهدها تظل مضطرة على الاطلاق
الى تدويع المناطق الاسلامية التي هي بين
الشرق الشمالي والشرق الجنوبي لتستطيع
المرور الى ما تطمح اليه بابصارها من الممالك
الوسيعية والبحار المهمة الجنوبية وان توفقت
الى الحصول على هذه الآمال لبادت كل
مالهؤلاء الاقوام الاسلاميين في تلك المناطق
من الاستقلال الاداري والحياة السياسية
لا محالة . لان وقت الهند في قبضة روسيا
وخفق لواء الحاكمة الروسية على البحر

المتوسط وعلى البحرين الاحمر والمحيط
الهندي فمن المحال بقاء الدولتين العثمانية
والايرانية وكذا افغانستان بل من المحال
تشكل هيئة اسلامية أخرى في المستقبل
وكسبها استقلالاً .

واما الهولنديون فلا ينظرون نظر
اهتمام قطعاً في ترقية الاهالي الذين في
مستعمراتهم ولا في اصلاح امر من امورهم
وانما يعدون تلك الاقاليم الجسيمة مزارع
لحكومتهم هولندا وضياعاً اميرية فيستخدمون
ملايين من الناس فيها كالفيلة الاجيرين وكما
يخدمون مسلمي الجزيرتين جاوا وصومترا
حق التصرف وحرية البيع والشراء كذلك

تدعمهم دولة هولندا اكثر لوازم البيوت
وسائر ما يحتاجون اليه بما تشاء من القيمة
والثمن وتحظر على كل منهم ادخال متاع الى
بلادهم وبيع شئ حتى محاصيل ارضه . ويأخذ
الهولنديون من ايدي التجار المسلمين باربعة
عشر او خمسة عشر ريالاً المحصول الذي يباع
باربعين او خمسين ريالاً مثلاً ولا يجيزون
اشرائه لاحد .

فالحقيقة المستنبطة من القياس والمقابلة
بين ما اتخذته انكلترا من اصول الادارة
والمسلك في مستعمراتها ومعاملات سائري
الدول في مستعمراتها هي ان انكلترا وحدها
قادرة وحريرة على ان تقوم بالاعمال النافعة

والاجراءات الخادمة لعلو شأنها ولحصول
الانسانية على فوائدها ومنافعها في اقاليم
الارض المختلفة .

ان انكلترا لا تدير مستعمراتها الوسيعة
ادارة تطلب بها نفع نفسها فقط بل تعمرها
وتربي ساكنيها تربية حسنة وتريهم سبيل
النجاح والسلامة وتوفي هذه التربية حقها
بشفقة وتطبيب لم يسمع لها بنظير في تاريخ
آمال قوم وافعالهم من الأمم الغابرة او
الحاضرة .

تعديل سلطة عملها وقوتهم بالشروط
الاحتياطية وتقييد الاستبداد في كل محل
وعلى كل حال بقيود كافية وتؤكد للمقتدرين

للانسانية وباسط للحرية وان حصر امل
النجاة في همها المسهلة للمعالي وظيفه تجب
على الامم المظلومة وعلى الاقوام المشتاقة
الى التمدن والتقدم . لاسيما ان الاعتناء بها
واجب على اهل الاسلام والسلام .

من كل صنف وجنس حق الدخول في كل
عمل ومأمورية . وتجد كل ادارة قومية
طريق التقدم مفتوحاً تحت نظارة انكثرا
المفيضة الفيز والكمال . تكثرت المكاتب
والمدارس في كل محل تحت ادارتها وتنتشر
المطبوعات والجرائد باتم حرية ومعاملتها
واطوارها نحو الاديان السائرة من قبيل
المساعدة المحضة وبلا محاباة .
فتمنى نجاح اعمال انكثرا المتعددة هذه
ما هو الا تمنى تقدم الانسانية وترقي المدينة
الجديدة .
ولا مرء في ان الارتباط ارتباطاً قليلاً
بانكثرا لحصول مقصد مثل هذا معزز

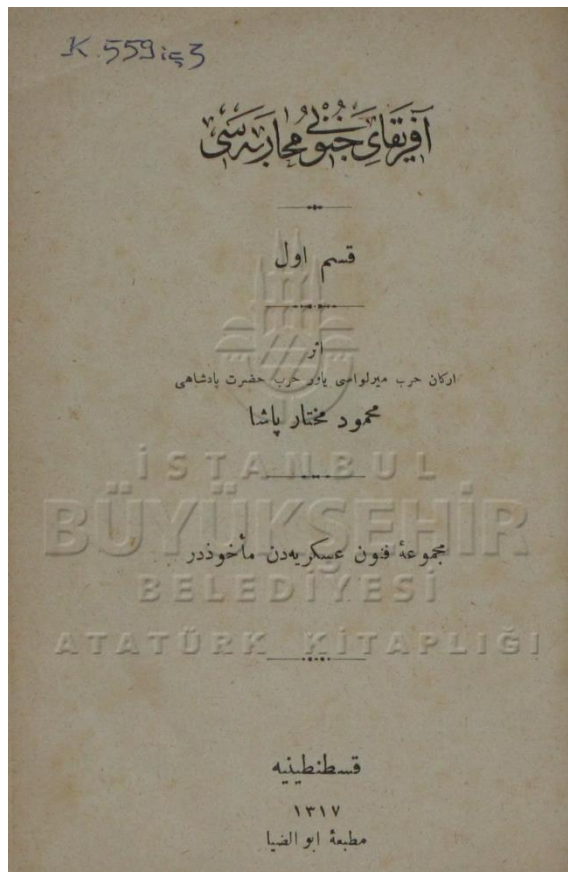
للمترجم

قد ترجمت هذا الكتاب اجابة لطلب
حضرة مؤلفه الفاضل والباح كثيرين من
الحريصين على انتشار الحقائق المنطوية فيه
فتحررت في ترجمته المطابقة التامة للاصل
التركي بخفاء فيه بعض تعقيد وغرابة اسلوب
في التركيب وذلك لا بد منه في التراجم المحتاط
بها كما يعلمه كل من عانى الترجمة بامانة فمع
رجاء قبول العذر وغيض النظر التجاسر على
استنفاث انظار حضرات المطالعين الى ان كل
ما قرره حضرة المؤلف الفاضل مستند على
معلومات رسمية وتحقيقات يقينية ومضمين
افكاراً بعيدة سامية فليتبصر اولو الالباب .
محمد قدرى ناصح

Appendix VIII. Map of Southern Africa in 1899.



Appendix IX. The first page of *Afrika-yi Cenubi Muharebesi* (The South African War) of Mahmud Muhtar Pasha. Istanbul: Matba' a-i Ebu'z-ziya, 1901.



Appendix X. Medallion of Major Aziz Bey given by British Queen Victoria



A TURK DISAPPEARS.

Ismail Kemal Bey, Newly Appointed Official, Takes to Flight.

CONSTANTINOPLE, May 1.—Ismail Kemal Bey, well known for his friendliness for Great Britain, who was recently appointed Vali of Tripoli, which appointment is tantamount to exile, has mysteriously disappeared. He embarked on Saturday with the German Col. von Ruedgisch, who is also going to Tripoli for the purpose of reorganizing the military defensive works there, on board the dispatch boat Fuad. The Captain of the vessel, not having received imperial authorization to sail, Ismail Kemal Bey and Col. von Ruedgisch landed during the evening.

Subsequently the newly appointed Vali disappeared, and no one knows his present whereabouts. It is believed that he had been planning to escape abroad with his three sons.

The affair has produced a great sensation at the Yildiz Kiosk, because the flight of Ismail is hardly less important than that of Mahmoud Pasha, the Sultan's brother-in-law, who disappeared from Constantinople Dec. 14 last, and it is considered another symptom of the state of affairs in Turkey.

معدنلرنی بزم کبی طوپراق آلتنده اویوتایانلر نهلر یاییورلر ؟



بر مملکت، معدنلرنی ناصیل استفاده ایرر ؟ — بزه توریاده یکی انشا ایلتیش اولان دایره حکومت

وارداتک هان کالاسی معدنلرنی استعمال ایتکده بولونان کوچوک ترانسوال مملکتک شو مائیر روت و امضای ایلر هائیالت الکساندر کی حدود مساحتکاملر تی خیالاً مقایسه ایلک، بزم ایون بر تمسلی اقتصادی قفسه قفسه و نقل و کساد

UN NOUVEAU PALAIS GOUVERNEMENTAL DANS UN NOUVEAU PAYS AFRICAİN
Le Siège du Pouvoir Exécutif à Pretoria, au Transvaal.

اوت . زاندهور بش اول سنه دایری ایجادیه موفق اولدی بعضی آلات میخانیکیه ایلر ضمیمه دوجار اولان عضوایی، جو جوقورده کزتنه کورولان اقسام عظیمه یث سوه تشکلاتی، بل کککک فقرات رقیبه سیک انحرافی، حی یافتن زمانلرده آفت قلیه و دورانی تی فیوضی بزرگنسانیکه و شایان سیرت بر سو قلیته ایدادی ایلکده در .

پروفیسور دوقور زاندهور

بو مختصر شهرک، بو حکیم ذوقنک نام بقا مدارای ایشیتیه تی و خصوصاً متنبین فنون طبیه میاندنه کندیسی طایایان هیچ کیمسه یوقدر، صاییم



ای اداره نلک کوزل نموده لر نموده : بزه توریاده یکی یاییانلر مختصم معبوتان دایره سی

Le nouveau Siège du Pouvoir Législatif à Pretoria.

LES MERVEILLES D'UNE BONNE ADMINISTRATION.

دلالتیه خسته خانه لری کرشمه سیم . ونسن جوارنده «اویتال تروسو» تی زیارتزده دوقور تی بر طایم آلات و ادوات ایلر مجیز بر صالونه سوق ایتدی . بوراده بیاض البسه لی سورلرک دوش هشتت تودیع ایدیش قیز، ازکاک یکری خسته جوجوق واردی . دوقور آلتلی بر پر ازانه و تریف ایدیور، تأمین ایلدک لری فوالدن بخت ایدیور واوراده بولونان بر آلیومدن باجانی چارپتی ایلک طوشرولش، قیسه ایلک اوزانمش جوجوقلرک تداییدن اول و صوکرکی رسملری کوسه ریوردی . سورلرک بر قسمی ماساژ یاییور بر قسمی ده او آلتلی اداره ایدیورلردی . بولون بو اختراعات جدیده فیهاتک صور تطبیقه سی کوردکن صوکرک خسته خانه دن جیتارکن دوقوره و طبقه تشکری ایفا ایتدیکم سیراده درین ایلر ایتی چکی : «— آموارد، ایدی، براز یارم اوله ایلک ایشم استایولده بولر زاندهور مؤسسه سی وجوده کتیرمکدر . زیرا بولرک تأمین ایلدکی فوالدی تریف ایدم؛ هله جوجوقلرده یوزده طقسان موافقت قطعی، «تبیانته بزم» بر «انشاالله» تریف ایدمک آیلدم . استوفولمه مؤتاسک دارالمالیه تی ایلک وزارت ایتدیکم کون «اورتوبدی» صالونده بر موقع بالایی محشمده و حیات طبیعه ده بربر سالخورده ک باغی بویا رسمی تی قارشیلادی. آلتنده «زاندهور» امضی کورنجه خسته خانه ده جوجوقلری خاطرلادم . دنک استحصال غایت مقصدیه او ماکینه زده اوغراشان مرضای اطفال صحت و سلامت بدنلری بو اختیاره مدیون ایشلر، دنک بوموجده محترمده بر جوقلری کی اسوه جی بر طیب ایش .

استوفولم جوارنده سالجربان «ده بو دایر» آلات پرورک بر سالجربوی اولدی اکره قی ایلک فرستده زیارتزه کیتدم .

سرای قرالیک قارشیتده شهرک مدار شرف و بهایان اولان اورانک اوکندیک ریخته یاناشان سریع الیر، بیاض تمیز و ایورلردن برینه آتادم . اون دقیقه ده، شومون دوقور غارینه ایصال ایتدی . بیانی آوب تره کیدم . شومون دوقورک اوبه برنجی، ایلکینی، اوچتی مرقی یوق، هسی سیاناً بر موقع، غالباً بوراده انسانلرک تریه اچانیه لری یکدیکرندن جوق فرقی اولاندیغندن بویه بر قری عمل تأسیسه لزوم کورمه شیلر . طبیی بو اصلوک هر یرده، هر ممکنده تطبیق ممکن دکادر، حی بارسده بیه الا لایمور، ترن حرکت ایتدی . تونلاردن، آکما بولرلردن یکدک، ککه زمردی بر اولادی، کاه لطیف بر کواک ساحلی تعقیب ایدیوروز . مینی مینی ظریف استایولرده برر ایلکیش دقیقه توقف ایدیوروز . کرشکر، صبیله، بر اعتنای مخصوص ایلر تنظیم ایدیش باغچه لری، اقلیک عدم مساعدتدن میوه و بره منکی حالده یشیللاک اولیون دیه دیکلن کراز، اریک و سائر میوه ایتاجلری، «صوکرک اولو چایلر، یتن و سائر بزمه جسیم اورمانلر، هسی کوزل، هسی لطیف، هسی روح پرور» یکری قدر استایولدن صوکرک مامورک کورسی ایشیدیلدی : سالجربانلر! هان نیرلارده چونکه عجبا بوراسی ایدی؛ دخیبه قدر ترن قاتار، شیدی بزم ایوب و ایورلری خاطرلادم؛ زوالی ما، وریاغریر: «هادی خانلر پوروپله!» اولنلر پردورلو برده نل آرقاسندن چیقاماز، چونکه لافیردی تی طانی برنده کسک قابل دکل . نهایت سیک مشکلاک نام چیقاجق لری بر صیراده ایلرلرین برایشلیجه سی کوزلکینی دوزلته دوزلته بویه نیر: «دور باقام بوراسی جبالیه؟» . عجبا آقا بوسنه سی جیسه سیم، اوغلم چهارشبه یه کیدیورم، تره دن دها یاقیکه . . .

الده «به دکر» جاده تی تعقیب ایدمک پروردم . ده کیز کوزوکدی . بوراسی نحر باطنک کوجوک بر کورفری . یو کک کوشه سنده هیکل کی دوران بولیه «زاندهور ساناتورپوم» دیدم . یارمده قارشیزده طوران بنای محشمی کورتردی . صومعه بیه لزوم بوقش، آما عجیبلاک .

یشیلده بر بارماقنلی ریایچه دن ایلری کیدم . قارشیده کال مهابه طوران آتی قاتی جسی شانوک قایچه سنه قارمی ویردم . ایل دقیقه صوکرک عسکر طوری بزدات باعه کادی . تی سلاملادی . ساناتورپومک مدبری ایش . احتیاط سنفنه منسوب یوز بانی آخل اوستراند (Axel Ostrand) اولدینی سولیدی و بی بر صالونه کورتوردی . اون دقیقه قدره وادن